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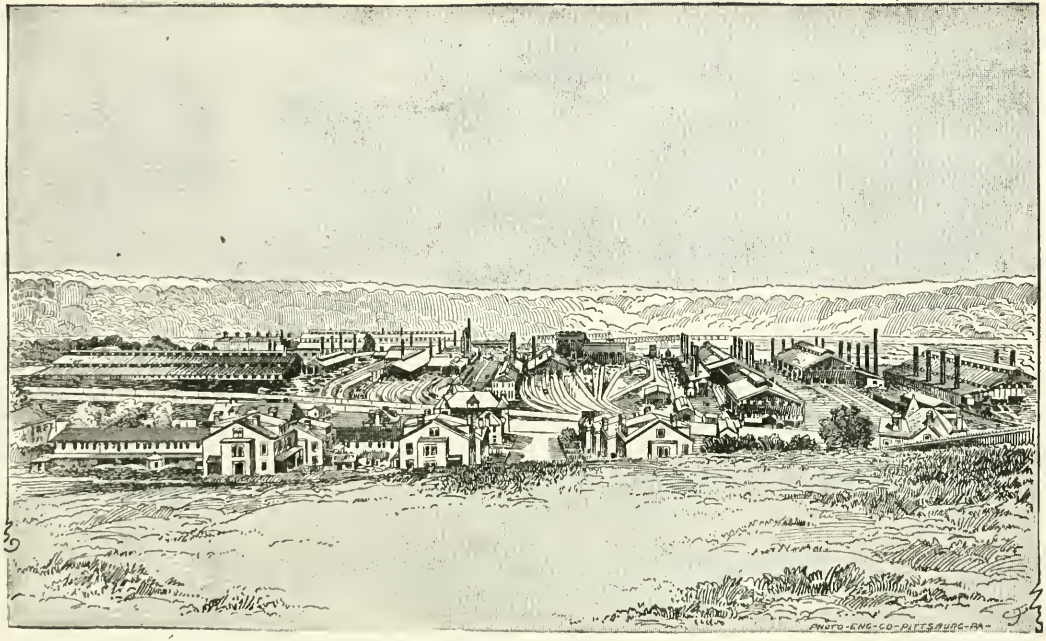

GENERAL VIEW OF HOMESTEAD MILLS.

"FORT FRICK"

OR THE

SIEGE OF HOMESTEAD

(ILLUSTRATED)

A HISTORY

OF THE FAMOUS STRUGGLE BETWEEN

THE AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION

OF IRON AND STEEL WORKERS

AND THE

CARNEGIE STEEL COMPANY (LIMITED)

OF PITTSBURG, PA.

BY

MYRON R. STOWELL.

PITTSBURG, PA.
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By Francis P. McCluskey.

PREFACE.

No apology will be made for the appearance of this book other than that we have felt for some time that there was a desire on the part of many to have in detail the story of the most exciting climax in the history of Labor versus Capital.

It is but fitting that an event in the history of our institutions which commanded the attention of every nation of the world and the outcome of which was watched with such eager interest, not only by the participants, but by the rich and poor, high and low, the press, the lawmakers and even the powers of every continent, should be perpetuated by such a publication as this.

During the entire period the author was an eye witness of the many events of that memorable period which, together with the assistance of participants, attorneys and of official reports of military and other officers; with access to court records and all the leading newspaper files, has enabled him to produce a book that for deep interest, conciseness, correctness of chronology, excitement and faithfulness to details has seldom been equaled.

A feeling of sadness must necessarily come over all who carefully consider a crisis, the results of which were so disastrous, financially, to all con-

cerned, and which caused so much suffering and privation.

It is to be hoped that our country, our Commonwealth, will never be obliged, again to witness, while our citizens and institutions learn a lesson, the value of which is so difficult to determine.

With a feeling of deep interest in a subject commanding universal consideration, we dedicate this volume to a never-ending peace and harmony between Capital and Labor.

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INTRODUCTORY.

While there have been many important differences between labor and capital during the past decade, particularly in America, none have equalled in significance that between the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, which culminated in the historic fight on the banks of the Monongahela River, July 6, 1892. The Homestead troubles are almost as familiar to the people of America, especially the laboring classes, as the battle of Bull Run is to the veteran of the Civil War, but no accurate history of the many chapters in the great tragedy has ever been written, nor has the reading public ever had an opportunity of knowing what effects the event has had upon the country at large and organized labor individually.

The fight made upon the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers by the Carnegie concern was well planned, and in many details admirably executed. But the result, while primarily the achievement of all the calculations of the corporation, assumed ultimately a political effect that a year before would have been thought impossible. The Homestead conflict produced much privation, poverty and almost starvation.

This awakened the sympathies of every friend to organized labor, not only in the United States, but all over the world. Money was sent pouring into the treasury of the relief funds from every state, city and hamlet in the Union, while England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Belgium, Germany and Austria gave liberal contributions. The political issue, already quite clearly defined plainly showed itself in November. During the two years preceding the final conferences between Chairman H. C. Frick of the Carnegie Company and representatives of the Amalgamated Association, it became apparent to the latter that they were not reaping from the benefits of the long-established political policy of the party in power a share equal to that which the capitalist enjoyed. When subscriptions to the relief of the suffering families in Homestead were opened in the industrial centers of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota, particularly in Ohio and Illinois, there was a spontaneous and liberal response. Contributions of a dollar a man from thousands of labor unions became popular, and on a certain day set for the purpose in the city of Chicago, almost twenty thousand artisans made personal contributions. About this time a well-known politician of the World's Fair city made the prediction that there would be a change in the popular vote, corresponding to these figures, and his prediction was almost literally fulfilled. The city of Chicago

alone which in 1888 gave Harrison a most handsome majority, veered around in 1892 strongly to his political opponent. A careful analysis of the vote cast in the city of Chicago, which is the greatest of our many industrial centers, showed that the members of labor organizations voted as they had contributed. This was true in Ohio, the result being particularly noticeable in that cluster of manufacturing towns lying between Pittsburg and Cleveland. The assertion is not made that the Homestead struggle was of itself responsible for the result of the election of November, 1892, but a close investigation shows that it changed thousands on thousands of votes in states where the fortifications of the Republican party had been impregnable. The artisans who forsook the party of protection did not argue that protection failed to protect, since the prosperity of the capitalists in protected industries was too certain, but failing to receive what they considered their just share of the benefits, they signified their desire to change from the powers that were, firm in the conviction that their condition could not be made worse.

The conflict, the murder trials growing out of the fight, the famous poisoning trials, and the thousands of incidents growing out of the affair served to more thoroughly unify the interests and purposes of organized labor in the United States than anything of a

similar nature could have done. The lockout occurred in the heart of the greatest iron and steel manufacturing district in the world. The fight was made against the most perfectly organized labor body in America, by one of the richest corporations in the world, and the richest in the iron and steel industry. The fight of July 6 occurred on the premises of the most thoroughly equipped steel mill, and largest plant in the world. The trials arising from the fight and its varied features raised legal questions that will be used as precedents for decades to come, particularly Chief Justice Paxson's definition of treason. The case of young Iams, and the rigid discipline meted out to him for his extreme folly, created a profound stir in military circles far and wide, proving an incident of more than passing importance in the history of Homestead.

The value of an accurate history of the most famous fight ever waged between capital and labor, and the individual importance of every incident chronicled in these chapters justifies the author in a measure for attempting to present this story to the public. Like all histories, different eyes have seen the various details in different lights, and in questions of fact there have arisen material discrepancies. However, the writer has endeavored as far as possible to give the truth to the reader, trusting to indulgence for any possible mistakes

that may have crept into the work. It has been the intention to treat everyone fairly and without favor, but the diversity among the newspaper and other authorities make some errors of record almost a necessity.

HUGH O'DONNELL.

CHAPTER I.

Carnegie Steel Company (Limited)— Capital— Location of their many interests — Description of Homestead mills — Railroad facilities—Estimate of materials and output—Review and classification of manufactures — Value of Homestead plant—Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers—Basis of wages prior to 1889—Basis proposed by the Carnegie Company—Shutdown pending the adjustment of scale for 1889—Attempt to place deputies in mill—Conferences in regard to scale for 1892—The scale prepared by the Carnegie Company— Disappointment at Homestead over the disagreement—Preparation for the strike—Mr Frick applies to the Pinkertons.

The Homestead trouble of 1892 was a fight between the largest steel manufacturing concern in the world, and what had generally been regarded as the most compact and completely fortified body of organized labor in the industrial universe.

The first of the principals, the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, had always been a huge concern, but in the five years preceding the famous conflict had almost doubled in proportions. The company had an authorized capital of $25,000,000, understood to be fully represented in the many plants operated. These were the Edgar Thomson furnaces and Edgar Thomson steel works at Besse-

mer, the Duquesne steel works, situated about three miles above Homestead on the Monongahela river, the Homestead steel works, the Lucy furnaces, Pittsburg, the Keystone bridge works, Pittsburg, the Upper Union mills and the Lower Union mills at Pittsburg, the Beaver Falls mills at Beaver Falls, Pa., the Scotia ore mines in Center county, Pa., the Latimer coke works in Westmoreland county, and the Youghiogheny coke works on the Pittsburg, McKeesport & Youghiogheny railroad in the state of Pennsylvania. At these places the company employed about 13,000 persons, about 4,200 of whom worked at the Homestead steel works.

This plant of itself was at the time of the labor trouble the greatest of its kind in the United States. It consisted of sixteen open hearths, one Bessemer, one armor plate, one steel plate (boiler), and one blooming mill. In addition to these there were three structural mills of different sizes, known as the thirty-five, thirty-three, twenty-three, and ten-inch mills. These varied departments were equipped with the most advanced types of modern labor-saving machinery, a huge hydraulic press in the armor plate department, a mammoth machine shop, waterworks, and gas producers, making in all about fifty acres under roof. Appertaining to the plant itself was a small railroad system, which had in its motive power equipment, eighteen small "dinky" locomotives and four full sized switching engines. The Pittsburg, McKeesport & Youghio-

gheny railroad running directly through the works afforded direct means of transportation for the output of the works, which amounted to about 25,000 tons a month, or fifty per cent. more in the rough. This estimate of materials used does not include coal and lime, which were always used in vast quantities. Steel ingots so large that they weighed seven tons or more, have been cast in this mill, which had in addition to other appliances of a similar nature twelve mammoth traveling cranes for handling objects of great weight. The armor plate manufactured at Homestead for the use of the government was of all classes and sizes. Among the other products of these mills may be mentioned all classes and sizes of boiler and bridge plate, open hearth and Bessemer steel billets, blooms, beams, channels, angles, flats and rounds, —in fact, all classes of structural materials. While many of these details may not be wholly intelligible to the general reader, they will certainly suffice to show that the Homestead steel mills as a whole, formed an enormous plant, the value of which has been estimated at not less than $6,000,000. This plant was started in 1881 and was used for Bessemer steel blooms and billets. At that time it was known as the Pittsburg and Bessemer Steel Company. In the three years preceding the strike of 1892 the plant had grown to double its capacity in 1889.

These works are responsible for the existence of the town of Homestead, at least for the prosperity

which it enjoyed for the decade prior to the summer of 1892. The plant lies just above the town itself, and is properly in the borough of Munhall. It extends from the edge of the Monongahela, back to what is known as Eighth street. Homestead is just below the works, and is a town of about eight thousand inhabitants, having grown to this number from an insignificant hamlet, almost unknown at the time the steel works were first started. Opposite Homestead is the town of Swissvale. where are located the works of the Union Switch and Signal Company, while just above the latter is the historic town of Braddock, on the outskirts of which are the Edgar Thomson interests of the Carnegie concern.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers is an organized body of skilled laborers, numbering about 25,000. Of this number there were in the eight lodges at Homestead in 1892 about 800—the remainder of the employes were not eligible to membership. Up to the year 1889, these skilled workmen were paid on a permanent yearly basis, but at this time Andrew Carnegie, still actively engaged in the management of the affairs of the concern, proposed a sliding scale of wages. This was followed by a general expression of disapproval on the part of the men, who preferred to have a permanent basis of remuneration maintained. The sliding scale, being based on the price of steel billets, would of necessity be governed by the fluctuations of the steel market, and

it was Mr Carnegie's intention that the wages earned by his employes should correspond with the earnings of the business. However, the tonnage men prepared a fixed scale for the company to sign. This was not accepted, and a strike ensued. During the shut-down the company attempted to place one hundred deputies, under Sheriff McCandless, in charge of the plant. They came to Homestead to take possession, but were driven out like sheep, by the women who used scalding water and other similar ammunition. There were grave apprehensions of serious trouble, but the men and their employers were again brought together, reaching an amicable agreement. At this conference, which lasted for more than twelve hours, the sliding scale was adopted. Its stipulations were that the minimum basis per ton be fixed in accordance with the market price of steel billets; the necessary rearrangement to be effected at the end of every three months. The contract signed at the time was for three years. The minimum price of steel billets in this contract was $25 per ton, so that while the market might fall below that limit, the wages of the men would not be affected. For the first half of the three years of this contract, the average market price of the steel billets was about $27. During the latter half of that period, however, the market slumped, so that while steel billets dropped in value to from $22.50 to $23.50 per ton, the wages of the men were maintained on the basis of the $25 minimum. At the time of the

signing of this agreement the men had held out for a minimum basis of $27, but finally acceded to the ultimatum of their employers.

As the time for the expiration of this contract approached, the eight lodges of the Amalgamated Association at Homestead appointed a dozen representatives to draft terms for a new scale, subject to the approval of the annual convention of the Amalgamated Association, to be held at Pittsburg, June, 1892. The terms having been approved by the major body, nothing remained but to obtain the signature of the Carnegie people to the contract. When the scale of 1889 was signed, William L. Abbott was the chairman of the Carnegie firm, then known as Carnegie Brothers & Co., Mr Carnegie being actively interested, as hitherto noticed. Shortly after this, Mr Abbott retired, having been succeeded by H. C. Frick, the noted millionaire coke operator. In June, 1892, just about the time of the annual meeting of the Amalgamated Association; the Carnegie interests were consolidated into the Carnegie Steel Company, Limited, with Mr Frick at the head. The new organization was an association; not a corporation. A limited partnership formed under special statute. The capitalization was placed at $25,000,000. Mr Frick's authority to deal with the men was supreme, and in subsequent conferences he represented the entire concern; not only as owners of the works at Homestead, but the various other plants enumerated in the beginning

of this chapter. In his dealings with employes, particularly in the famous coke workers' strike in the Connellsville region, Mr Frick had shown himself to be a man of rare executive ability, incisive in his methods, rapid of thought and action. His conflict with the coke workers in the early spring of 1889, and victory over one of the strongest labor organizations, was still fresh in the minds of everyone when the time for signing the Amalgamated wage scale drew nigh. Realizing Mr Frick's antipathy to organized labor, the men apprehended trouble.

When the conference committee from the Amalgamated Association called on Mr Frick, they were presented with a new scale prepared by the officers of the Carnegie Company. The essential points in the new contract were that $22 per ton be the minimum price of steel billets, instead of $25, and that all contracts between the men and the company terminate at the end of the calendar year, instead of midsummer, as before. These stipulations were at once rejected by the men. The first was objectionable because it cut wages, while the second failed to meet with approval on several grounds, chief of which was that the men did not care to run chances of being idle in the winter. Then again it was justly urged that the summer was the proper time for all steel mills to shut down, on account of the extreme heat. When the new scale was presented to the men the company announced that conferences for its considera-

tion might be held until June 24, after which date the company would not meet its employes. On the morning of June 23 six representatives of the men called at the company's offices for a final conference. They still held out for the $25 minimum, and demanded that contracts terminate in July. The argument lasted many hours, ex-Vice-president W. T. Roberts of the Amalgamated Association doing most of the talking for the men, while Mr Frick represented the company's side. Both sides remained firm, and by noon-time nothing like a settlement had been reached. The mass of figures presented by both sides, the complicated rules and the generally lenghty text of each scale caused much discussion. At half past one o'clock a recess for lunch was taken, the conference being resumed at three, lasting from that hour until late in the evening. As the afternoon wore away, each side showed a slight disposition to make concessions; the wage earners' committee offering to lower the minimum rate to $24, while Mr Frick signified his willingness to raise his ultimatum to $23, leaving a difference of $1 per ton to be adjusted. But on the question of the termination of the contract Mr Frick was unyielding, while on their part the men were fully as firm. It finally became apparent that no agreement could be reached, so the conference adjourned.

As soon as it became known in Homestead that the scale had not been signed, disappointment was expressed on all sides. The men had hoped for

the best all along, but were apprehensive that Mr Frick would not concede anything, or at least would not come to an agreement with the conferees, so when the details of the meeting became noised about the town, preparations for a strike were begun. The company also took immediate steps to prepare itself for a long siege. The next day Mr Frick applied to the Pinkerton detective agency for 300 guards, and it was proven by correspondence shown at the Congressional investigation that he had written to Robert Pinkerton on the subject prior to June 22, or some days before the fruitless conference.

CHAPTER II.

Correspondence between H. C. Frick and R. A. Pinkerton—Fortification of "Fort Frick" by the Carnegie Company—Laying of hot water pipes around the grounds—Preparations to shut down—Homestead to be run with non-union men—The barges Monongahela and Iron Mountain—H. C. Frick asks the County for protection—The Sheriff's refusal to accept the services of Homestead citizens as deputies—System of signals—Arrival of deputies—The deputies return to Pittsburg.

Some testimony given by H. C. Frick, chairman of the board of the Carnegie Steel Company, at the Congressional investigation of the Homestead troubles, showed that the concern had anticipated a refusal of the men to accede to their employers' ultimatum. In the course of his testimony a letter was read, signed by himself, and addressed to R. A. Pinkerton, New York City. It bore the date of June 25, 1892,—the day after the conference referred to in the last chapter. This letter not only instructed the Pinkerton concern that the Carnegie people wanted three hundred "guards" to protect the works when the time came for operation, July 6, but referred to previous correspondence on the same subject.

A few weeks before the conference the company erected an enormous fence completely encircling the works. This fortification was ten feet in average height, although in some places it was even higher. The fence was substantially constructed of double inch stock, two rows of barbed wire being nailed on the top all the way around the works. The fortification shut off all possible view of the property from without, causing the whole place to be given the name of FORT FRICK. Certain free trade papers throughout the country took up this title, heralding it throughout the land, so that it became even more familiar than the name of the borough itself. The company gave no reason for the step they took in shutting off their plant from vulgar gaze, but at the time it was understood generally among the men that the primary object was to shut out the strikers. Port holes, three inches in diameter, were bored through this stockade, every twenty-five feet, commanding a full sweep of Munhall station by the company. Mr Frick said these orifices were made to command a view of the outside, but failed to explain their extraordinary number. Large water pipes were laid along the inside of the fence through which it was said either hot or cold water could be turned upon any invading force.

Failing to get the men to sign the new scale, every preparation usual to a shut-down was made by the company, although the Advisory Board of the Amalgamated Association instructed its men to

work until the morning of July 1, at six o'clock However, the company commenced discharging men in squads of one or two hundred on the day after the conference. They added to their other precautionary measures a huge scow, equipped with a powerful search-light, to protect the works from an approach from the river under the cover of night. The operation of this illuminant so interfered with boat navigation, that the company discontinued its use after a few nights.

The fortification of the property having been completed, the company announced, through its chairman, that, after July 1, the Homestead steel works would be operated as a non-union mill, and that the company would only deal with its men as individuals, and not as members of any organized body. Notices were posted, informing the employes that after a certain date the places of those who failed to sign would be considered vacant. This met with very little attention from the artisans. Simultaneously with the posting of this warning, the Carnegie people signed the Amalgamated scale for the Thirty-third street mill, Pittsburg. It was inferred by this move that the capitalists feared a long siege, and intended to fill contracts on hand for structural steel at this mill, in event of their being unable to complete them at Homestead. The latter plant was much larger, of course, but as the Pittsburg mills were able to turn out the same class of commercial work, the inference was but natural.

It was the determined intention of the company to start the Homestead steel works on the 6th of July, and the men in turn were determined if possible to prevent the consummation of the well laid plans to this end. Having engaged the Pinkertons, Mr Frick instructed that they be brought to Homestead from Chicago by way of Youngstown and Bellevue (a short distance below Allegheny on the Fort Wayne road), where they were to take the barges for their destination. These barges, the Monongahela and the Iron Mountain, were fitted up by the company, and for several days lay in the Ohio river, at the foot of Beaver avenue, Allegheny. They attracted much attention on account of the manner in which they were equipped. They were supplied with bunks, cots and culinary arrangements to accommodate over a thousand men. No person seemed to know for what use they were intended, although work on them was in progress several days prior to their fatal trip; and the mysterious atmosphere surrounding everyone connected with the vessels caused no little newspaper comment. However, on the night of July 5, about ten o'clock, the steamers Little Bill and Tide, each bearing a passenger license, moved them down to Bellevue, where they took on their ill-fated human freight. The steamers had three extra engineers aboard, as if trouble were anticipated with the crew when the latter learned of their true mission. During the days preceding the embarking of the barges, several men were actively

engaged in loading them with boxes of various sizes, understood to contain bedding, food and ammunition.

On Independence day, Mr Frick publicly announced, through his secretary, that he would put the Homestead mills in the hands of the county if necessary, asking that one hundred special deputy sheriffs be enlisted. On the same day he notified Sheriff William H. McCleary of the presence of the locked out men on the premises of the Carnegie company, demanding protection of him as the executive official of Allegheny county. Acting on this communication, Mr McCleary repaired to Homestead on the following morning, going before the Advisory Committee of the Amalgamated Association. He notified these gentlemen that he would send deputies to guard the Carnegie property. He received courteous treatment, and was shown through the mills by the men. On his return to the committee's headquarters, he was told that the people of Homestead, both before the present trouble had come, and since its precipitation, had expressed their intention not only to guard their own property, but also that of their employers. The spokesman offered anywhere from fifty to five hundred of Homestead's best and most reliable citizens, secured by any requisite bond, to serve as deputies. It was explained that the presence of foreign deputies would be likely to incite further trouble. This offer Mr McCleary declined. While admitting its fairness, he said it would be

impossible for him to accept, concluding with the assertion that he would bring up deputies from Pittsburg the same afternoon. In reply the advisory board announced that it would dissolve, rather than attempt to take the consequences that might follow the introduction of the sheriff's men.

This intelligence spread over the borough with astonishing rapidity, and in half an hour almost every man, woman and child within the town limits was on the streets. Business men began to circulate petitions asking the Governor to interfere, the general excitement having grown to fever heat. The system of signaling from point to point in guarding the town from the approach of undesirable visitors had been perfected, and gossip had it that the Pinkertons were coming that afternoon. Everyone knew, however, that the deputy sheriffs would certainly come, and an attempt was made to receive them in such a manner that they would not be able to reach the premises, although every man in Homestead was determined that no blood should be shed. The railroad station in Homestead was packed with people when the five o'clock train steamed in. But no deputies got off. They were discovered however, and the whole borough flocked to Munhall station, a half mile above. Here they found that twelve men, under Deputy Sheriff Samuel B. Cluley, had gotten off the train and attempted to force an entrance into the property, which was denied them by the hundreds of determined men on guard. The workmen were

packed in against the gates in a solid phalanx, and seeing the uselessness of an attempt to force an entrance their leader attempted to coax the self-appointed guards into relenting, but without success. There was no use of force by either side. So, finally, Mr Cluley took his dozen coadjutors back again, being escorted across the river by members of the Advisory Committee in a boat employed for the purpose, to a suburb of Pittsburg, where they took the trolley cars into the city.

During the same day the sheriff posted notices all over Homestead and Munhall calling the attention of the general public to the fact that those interfering with the operation of the Homestead steel works were liable to arrest, fine and imprisonment, and commanding all to abstain from congregating or assembling about the company's property, under penalty of the law. The company announced through the medium of the newspapers that they anticipated no trouble and that they expected to begin repair work on the following week, and to have 500 or more men at work at that time. They further declared that they anticipated the return of fully 2,000 of the strikers. Notwithstanding this declaration, the borough of Homestead was still in a fever. The narrow streets were one congestion of humanity, and while all were orderly, it was easy to see that there was much suppressed excitement, and that the citizens apprehended serious trouble.

THOMAS J. CRAWFORD.

CHAPTER III.

On the alert—No backward steps—Officials worried—Suppressed excitement—The "Little Bill" and the Barges—Giving the alarm Off for the River—Armed forces—In possession—The ugly Winchesters—A volley of hot shots—The first to fall—A wild scramble.

Not a soul rested in Homestead on the night of July 5. The guards about the outskirts of the borough and those within the steel works had been increased by voluntary additions to almost 2,000 men, every one on the alert. During the early evening there were several false alarms proclaiming the approach of invaders, but the general excitement became thoroughly allayed by midnight. The stand taken by the company was impossible of misconstruction. The men knew only too well that the Carnegie people intended to operate the plant with non-union workmen, and if necessary, would spend hundreds of thousands of dollars to carry out this purpose. The announcements of the company, practically predicting that they would recognize no obstacle between them and a victory over the Amalgamated Association, worried the

officials of the latter not a little. They knew how the foreign element among the Homestead laborers scorned force, and were equally well aware of the determination with which they would resist any attempt to invade the steel plant. Then they were assured that the company would land its armed forces on the ground by the following night, if not within the next few hours.

Earnest consultations were held and all the men advised and entreated not to shed any blood. All promised that no violence should be offered to the expected invaders unless the latter forced a fight. The leaders with occasional exceptions did not go to bed, remaining up with the watchers. A few women and children slept, while the rest of the town was in a fever of wakeful excitement. There was no drinking, no loud talking, and no indication that anything unusual was about to happen ; the only thing out of the ordinary being the number of men patrolling the streets. In Pittsburg the excitement was equally intense. The streets were filled with men, all the night, but there was no disorder.

At a little after 2 o'clock in the morning of July 6, word was telephoned to the office of a morning newspaper that the Little Bill, towing two barges filled with armed men, had just passed Lock No. 1 on the Monongahela river. The system of patrolling the river was so perfect that no sooner had the barges started than word was sent to Homestead.

The tow-boat, Little Bill, had lain at the Davis Island dam on the Ohio river during the evening

of July 5, having in tow the two barges well fortified and provisioned. At 1 o'clock the special train from Ashtabula bearing the ill-fated Pinkertons arrived at Bellevue. They alighted and were marched over to the floats which were soon being propelled up the Ohio river to the Point at Pittsburg, and thence to Homestead. Every man was armed with a Winchester rifle, with fifty rounds of ammunition. It had been the intention to slip these guards into the works by night, thus turning the tables on the men. But the fact that the plan failed of consummation is now history. As the barges approached Lock No. 1, one of the Homestead scouts who had been scrutinizing the flotilla very closely, observed the presence of armed men on each of the barges. An instant later a horseman had crossed the upper bridge, headed for the south side of the river, and was soon on a wild gallop to Homestead. Within a half hour he had reached the little city and given the alarm.

The effect was electrical. It is impossible to comprehend the wild-fire-like rapidity with which the intelligence was communicated to every one in the borough, much less to understand by what facility the news spread. The town was instantly in an uproar. The preconcerted signal, blasts from the electric light plant whistle, filled the air with hoarse, ominous shrieks. Humanity began to pour from the houses and buildings all over the town. Men, women and children who but an instant before had been in sound sleep, thronged into the

streets like panic-stricken sheep. Then the men began to shout: "On to the river!" "To the river!" "The scabs are coming!" "Don't let the black sheep land!"

Within ten minutes after the arrival of the horseman not a soul was indoors. The streets were one surging, congested mass of human beings headed for the river bank, shouting, cursing, screaming and laughing. Some knew not why they were there and were amused. Others appreciated the gravity of the situation and took things very seriously. Many openly carried guns, rifles, revolvers and improvised firearms. Some had clubs which they had picked up on the street; others tore pickets from the fences as they passed along; others were empty-handed.

When the first of this vast throng of several thousand reached the bank all was dark, the dense fog then hanging over the valley almost obscuring even the lights of the blast furnaces on the opposite side of the Monongahela at Braddock. The river bank having been reached, the men turned up the stream toward the works. As they ran along the rough, uneven surface of the bank, from mouth to mouth was passed along the word that five hundred non-union men were coming up the river on boats, to be landed in the works and to take the places of the locked-out men. This served to accelerate their already rapid pace, and in a few seconds later the men were in a dead run. Reaching the center of the famous barricade on the river's edge, just

above the old city farm, some one made the suggestion that it be torn down. In the twinkling of an eye, the crowd having taken kindly to the suggestion, surged up against a ten-rod section of the fortification, and it went down like a woodshed before a Kansas cyclone. With a glad pæan of triumph the men rushed over the wreck into the company's property, taking undisputed possession of the works.

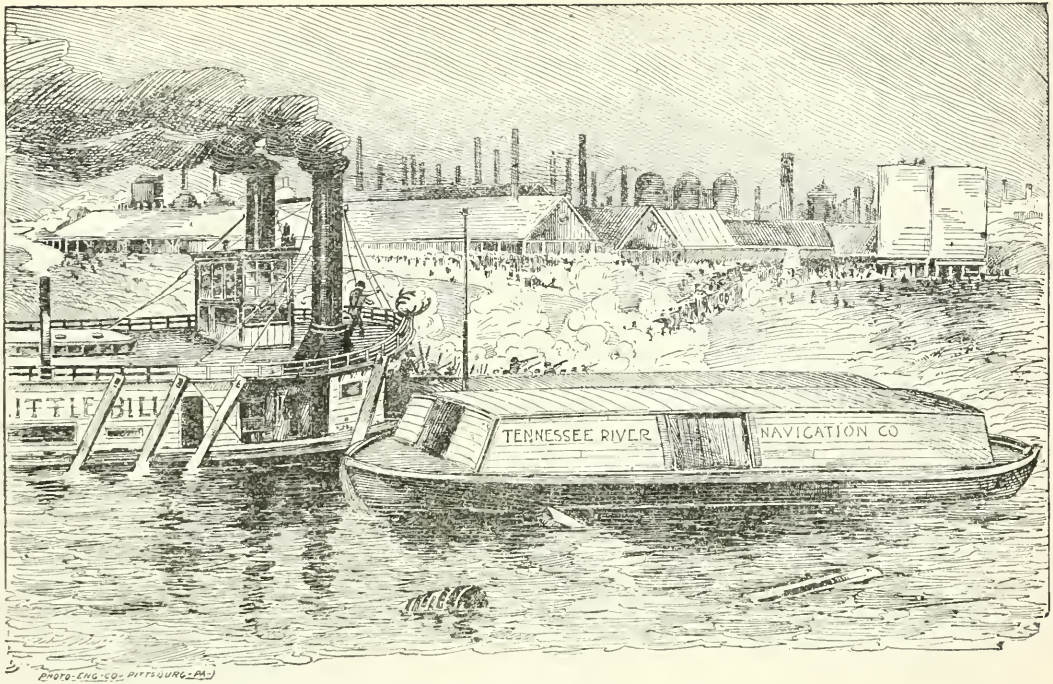
Soon the first blushing streaks of midsummer dawn began to redden the sky. No approaching boat had been either heard or seen, though thousands of eyes were strained to catch a first glimpse of the invading armada. Suddenly a mighty shout from the lower end of the town announced that the headlight of the approaching steamer had been sighted. Those above the bend in the stream could not see her, but the line was so close that word of the appearance of the Little Bill went from mouth to mouth with the rapidity of an electric shock. A few moments later the red lights of the boat were discernible through the dense mists of the fog by the men at the mill. Another cheer, more mighty than the first, greeted the sight. The men rushed to the water's edge, the flotilla coming up to them with rapidity. Firmly secured between the two barges the Little Bill proceeded up to a point directly in front of the center of the mill yard, running them closely against the shore where they grounded with a soft crunching sound of the gravel against the keels.

Then followed an interval of painful silence. Directly forty or fifty men stepped out from a door in the end of the nearer barge to the small deck on the bow. Each man carried a 45–70 Winchester repeater, and on every face was stamped an expression of dogged defiance, almost desperation. Through the small doorway at their backs could be seen many more faces wearing similar expressions, their owners carrying those ugly looking magazine guns.

A gangplank was thrown out by a man who seemed to be the leader of the invading party, and the men started toward it. A glance at the thousands on the shore deterred them. They hesitated, then half turned as if to go back. "Don't step off that boat!" came a warning from the shore, but a rough voice of some one in authority over the Pinkertons commanded in stern tones "forward." Just as the little column moved toward the gangplank a shot came from the boat. It was the first of thousands and failed to hit a human mark. No one knew exactly from whence it came, but some one announced that it came from a port-hole in the side of one of the barges, this intelligence provoking a volley from the guns of a score of the watchers on the land. Then all was silent for a moment as the invaders ranged in line. They raised forty rifles, and forty bullets were an instant later hurled into the ranks of the crowd. Martin Murray, a rougher, fell headlong into a heap of ashes, slightly wounded. Most of the other shots

must have been aimed into the air, as no other person is known to have been hurt during the first exchange of shots, notwithstanding the fact that the crowd was so dense that the men could scarcely turn around.

A wild scramble for shelter followed. Up the steep bank into the mill yard and down the river toward the waterworks they hurried for their lives. All this time, however, the Pinkertons kept up a rattling fire, which was briskly returned by about two hundred of the millworkers, some of whom stood their ground, while others had retreated to the mill yard at the top of the bank, gaining protection behind piles of steel billets.



THE BATTLE ON THE RIVER BANK.

CHAPTER IV.

Three instantly killed—The striker's eloquent plea—Defiant guards Erecting breastworks—Renewing the fight—Four more shot—The pilot disappears—Slugs and grapeshot—A mill hand's fate—Dynamite—Terrific explosions—Burning oil—A white flag—"No quarter"—An elevated view—Pleading for their lives.

When Murray had fallen Joseph Sotak stooped to render assistance and he himself was struck on the upper lip by a bullet, which dropped him dead by the side of his fallen companion. In the meantime, Henry Streigle, who had retreated to the top of the hill and was firing at the men on the boat, fell over with a leaden missile in his throat. He died in a few moments. On the boat the man who seemed to be leading the armed party was shot and fell to the deck. After he had been removed to the inside, and the men on the boat retreated into the covered barges, firing ceased on both sides.

Then came a conference between the leaders on the shore and a stout, middle-aged man on the boat, who seemed to be a leader. Said the millworker, who had stepped down to the water's edge:

"On behalf of 5,000 men I beg of you to leave here at once. I don't know who you are nor

from whence you came, but I do know that you have no business here, and if you remain there will be more bloodshed. We, the workers in these mills, are peaceably inclined. We have not damaged any property and we do not intend to. If you will send a committee with us we will take them through the works, carefully explain to them all the details of this trouble, and promise them a safe return to their boats. But in the name of God and humanity don't attempt to land! Don't attempt to enter these works by force!"

The leader on the boat, resting his rifle across his left arm, stepped to the front, and, in a voice that could be heard by those on the bank, said:

"Men, we are Pinkerton detectives. We were sent here to take possession of this property and to guard it for the company. We don't wish to shed blood, but we are determined to go up there and shall do so. If you men don't withdraw, we will mow every one of you down and enter in spite of you. You had better disperse, for land we will!"

A deathly silence followed this speech, and then the leader of the millworkers spoke again. Every man within the sound of his voice listened with breathless attention. He said:

"I have no more to say. What you do here is at the risk of many lives. Before you enter those mills you will trample over the dead bodies of 3,000 honest workingmen."

The next two hours were passed in ominous silence. The leader of the Pinkertons at 6 o'clock

stepped out and commanded the strikers to disperse, as at 7 o'clock he would take his men into the mills against all obstacles. But before that hour arrived the millworkers had erected substantial breastworks of structural steel, behind which they crouched with loaded guns.

At 7:45 o'clock the Pinkertons stepped out on the forward deck preparatory to landing. The leader swinging an oar was the first to emerge, but before he or the men behind him could make a jump, a rattling volley from the mill yard caused them to retreat hastily, and four men dropped in their tracks. The Pinkertons returned the fire from the port-holes and from the ends of the boat, wounding a number of workers who were in exposed positions. The firing from the boat was kept up thereafter at intervals until 10 o'clock.

At 9 o'clock the fusilade became strong and heavy. The millworkers had secured a small cannon and planted it on the hillside, concealed by shrubbery on the opposite side of the river, from which position they were firing at the boat. The men behind the steel barricade and a number of sharpshooters who had been distributed along the river front, at the same time were doing lively work. The Little Bill, with her dead and injured Pinkertons, had withdrawn early in the second skirmish to Port Perry, leaving the barges moored, but just when the exchange of shots was the heaviest, she returned and steamed in for the barges.

A derisive yell from the 150 men behind the barricade and the 2,000 unarmed who were back in the mill on the trestles and other points out of range, greeted the little steamer. A hot volley from the sharpshooters and the millworkers raked the steamer fore and aft as she turned her broadside toward the shore.

A dozen bullets struck the pilot house, and the occupant thereof dropped so suddenly that it was supposed he had met death, while the crowd of workers broke into cheers. Men on the boat returned the fire, but instead of landing, the Little Bill floated on down past the works, running the fiercest blockade that has been witnessed on this continent since the days of 1865. There was a perfect shower of lead from the boat, but it was returned with an energy to which her perforated sides attested for weeks, and this attack was kept up as long as the craft was in range.

During this fusilade the cannon across the river was busily engaged. Scrap iron, nails and slugs were being fired. Suddenly Silas Wain, sitting on a pile of beams in the mill yard out of range of the guns of the boats, was seen to keel over. A dozen men ran to him. A piece of scrap from the cannon had struck him in the neck, severing the jugular vein and almost tearing off his head. He was instantly killed.

This stopped the cannonading from the north side of the river, and by a code of signals known to themselves, the workers signaled and the cannon

was removed to the mill. It was planted behind a big armor plate, and stood on end twenty-five yards from the boat. Men came running with gun powder, and soon the little brass instrument of death was being fired at the boats, while the sharpshooters kept up an incessant popping at the exposed portions of the barges. After a time a hole was broken in the brick wall of the pump-house and the cannon was taken into that shelter within forty feet of the boat, but the gun could not be trained on the barges, and the position was abandoned for the original one behind the armor plate. The cannon, however, proved ineffectual in piercing the iron-clad roofs of the boats, which had evidently been prepared for just such a contingency as this, and the workers, desperate beyond reason, began to invent other means of attack.

Numerous big packages of dynamite sticks, weighing a half pound each, were brought, and from their barricaded shelter the men began throwing them at the boats. The explosions were terrific. When the dynamite sticks struck the roofs of the boats they demonstrated the character of the roof coverings. Not a mark was left where the explosion occurred. The violence of the explosive stuff could be heard for miles around, and it was kept up, now and then varied by the report of the cannon or the sharp crack of the rifles, until 4 o'clock in the evening.

In the morning a few barrels of oil were poured upon the water with the intention of setting fire to

it as it floated down on the surface, and thereby igniting the boats themselves, but the quality of the oil would not permit of its burning. This desperate move so frightened the Pinkerton men that thereafter not a shot was fired from the barges.

At noon the terrified guards in the doomed boats again raised the white flag. Again were heard the shouts of the infuriated mill men: "No quarter!"

The white flag was withdrawn, but scarcely had the door closed when the cannon spoke again and the splinters flew from the bow of the Monongahela. One of the Pinkertons showed himself and a dozen shots rang out from the sharpshooters among the workers. The body of a man fell on the bow of the boat. Then it settled down to a steady fight.

By this time hundreds of the strikers had received arms; every pile of iron held a sharpshooter watching for a human target. Every stack of coal that faced the river was a fort. The strongholds of the workers were in the laboratory, the water tank, the pump houses and the gas house. Several did very effective work from an old shearing machine under the Pemicky bridge. A number of others from Braddock were sheltered by the piers of the bridge on the other side. From these they kept up a continuous fire as long as a target was offered. All along the Pemicky road were thousands of men and women.

The long trestle and the new station in the mill were black with people who cheered on the sharp-

shooters below, while the deserted offices of the Carnegie plate mill were crowded with eager people. The hills on both sides of the rivers were lined with watchers, who cheered loudly whenever a Pinkerton man was seen to fall. The sight of blood maddened them.

"Don't let one escape alive!" they shouted.

Hugh O'Donnell, who had done all that was possible to avert bloodshed, at this point invited a party of newspaper men to the cupola of the new converting mill, but recently erected. From there they had a full view of the boats and the crowd. Many a battle has gone down in history where less shooting was done and fewer people were killed. There were hundreds of men, well armed, thirsting for the lives of others in the boat, while thousands of men and women stood just out of range and cheered them on. Each crack of a rifle made them more blood-thirsty and each boom of the cannon more eager for the blood of the officers. One of the strikers remarked:

"There are but two weeks between civilization and barbarism, and I believe it will take only two days of this work to make the change."

Indeed, it looked as if the veneering of gentility had already been cracked.

Then another shot and another cheer told that somebody had been hit. The Pinkertons were too badly scared to make any effort to shoot, and were crowded like sheep into the barge which lay farthest from shore. Fresh ammunition and arms

had arrived from Pittsburg for the strikers and the men bent harder to their tasks. They worked nearer the river that their fire might be more deadly. The workers could be seen dragging their bodies like snakes along the ground to where they could get a better shot. The cannon would again roar, but the shot would land in the water above the boat. Once a piece of one of the doors fell with the shot. Several of the imported officers were revealed, and a score of shots were fired in quick succession. Some one must have fallen, for cheer on cheer of triumph went up from thousands of throats. At every shot of the cannon thereafter a volly of shots was heard from the sharpshooters, who had seen some one on the boat. They only shot when they saw something, and every crack of a rifle meant an attempt on a human life.

At 1 o'clock there was a wild commotion at the new station. A tall, brawny workman waved two sticks of dynamite high above his head. By his side was a basket full of the deadly explosive. The excited gathering, that a moment before had been wild, was silent, and listened. His voice was loud and distinct. He said:

"Men of Homestead and Fellow Strikers: Our friends have been murdered—our brothers have been shot down before our eyes by hired thugs! The blood of honest workmen has been spilled. Yonder in those boats are hundreds of men who have murdered our friends and would ravish our homes! Men of Homestead, we must kill them! Not one must escape alive!"

W. J. BRENNEN.

"Aye, aye, aye!" shouted a half thousand voices. Then the Herculean workman continued:

"The cannon has failed to sink the boats—the oil has failed to burn them. Who will follow me? These bombs will do the work!"

As he spoke he flourished the dynamite. A score of men raised their clubs, and regardless of the fact that they were within the range of the Pinkerton rifles, followed him. They ran in their haste to take human life. They were not savages, but men of families, who, perhaps a few hours before, had held infants on their knees or kissed their wives farewell. They were good, strong men, wrought up by the sight of blood, and ready to take the lives of those who threatened them and theirs.

With their penknives they scooped up holes for the cartridges and fuse. The latter was very short—it would burn quickly. The crowds could see them light the matches and hold the messengers of death until they burned closely. Then, with strong right arms drawn until every muscle showed like a whipcord, they let fly, and the explosions were cheered by the excited men and women. The distance was long, and the bombs had to be thrown from behind some shelter, and many of the missiles fell short of the mark, but when one landed on the roof cheer upon cheer went up. One man had crawled down on the structural iron, and then by making a throw of nearly a hundred feet, struck the boat. The front end heaved and a few boards flew. He lighted an-

other fuse and another stick of dynamite. It described a semi-circle in the air, leaving a trail of smoke behind. It was going to land squarely on top of the Monongahela, but instead of striking the roof it splashed into a bucket of water. It sizzled for a moment and then went out without exploding. It had hardly died, however, when another from the pump-house fell on the roof. It lay there smoking a moment while the strikers prayed it might wreck the craft. There was an explosion, and a hole was torn in the roof. It was not then known whether it killed anybody inside, but when the boards flew up a gondola hat went flying into the air. Another bomb was thrown into the bow of the boat. The clearing smoke showed a door was gone. Human forms were seen within, which was a sign for the sharp-shooters to do some execution. At 1:35 o'clock several men went out on the bow of the boat to pick up their dead and wounded companions. There were a half dozen shots and two more men fell. Then came more curses for the firm and additional cheers of victory.

Another stick of dynamite fell five minutes later, and in three minutes more another tore off a part of the planks. Then the men drew closer and their work became more deadly.

Then it was decided to throw oil again and burn the boat. At 12:10 o'clock the hose carriage belonging to the city, and a half dozen barrels of lubricating oil were brought to the water tanks, together with a fire engine, but there was great dif-

ficulty in getting it to work. In the meantime a new supply of dynamite had arrived. The boxes were knocked open and the men drew out the explosives as unconcernedly as they would have handled their dinners. Then they made another rush for the barges and there was more sharp firing.

About this time a coal steamer's whistle was heard and the sharp-shooters stampeded to the rear for an instant, thinking another corps of deputies had arrived. The alarm was false and they soon resumed operations. Then they got the oil to flowing, but, as in the morning, it circled around the boats and refused to burn.

The fight still continued and more attempts were made to burn the boats and the 300 Pinkertons within. It was 4 o'clock when the giant form of President William Weihe, of the Amalgamated Association, appeared. Hundreds followed him into one of the mills. He tried to address the men but they refused to listen to him. President-elect Garland was there also, but the cries of "burn the boats, kill the Pinkertons, no quarter for the murderers," drowned his voice.

At last, Vice-President McEvey climbed upon one of the big converters and told the men that if they would permit these officers to go unhurt, he promised that not another Pinkerton should ever set foot within Homestead. He told them that they had avenged the death of their brother laborers and they acquiesed, but just then the crash of a heavy explosion of dynamite was heard, followed by a score of shots and more cheers.

CHAPTER V.

Waiting and watching—Sufferings of the wounded—An ax at work—Another wounded guard—Hugh O'Donnell—His efforts for peace—The Stars and Stripes—Again the white flag—The surrender—Victory—Disarmed—Looting the boats—A dreadful march—Running the gauntlet—Taking revenge—Pleading for mercy.

For hours the crowd of men, with cocked guns, behind the barricades of structural iron within the walls, had watched the barges, waiting for a head to appear. Down in the boats sweltering, their hearts filled with fear, lay the Pinkertons. The sun was beating down on the low roofs of the barges, and the air within was stifling. An opening was not to be thought of, as it would only attract a storm of bullets from the angry men outside. The sufferings of the wounded in the boats must have been awful, not to speak of the others, and, as the sun grew hotter, sounds of an ax at work within the boat told the crowd that the Pinkerton guards were taking desperate chances to prevent suffocation. Soon a hole was cut through, and a moment later it was made twice as large by

the bullets from the shore. The axman was wounded, and no further attempt was made to secure ventilation. Death in a stifling atmosphere was better, it was thought by the Pinkertons, than from the guns of the crowd on the bank.

All sorts of plans were tried to fire the boats. A hand fire engine, owned by the steel company, was gotten out of its shed and connected with a steel oil tank. The oil was pumped down into the river and burning waste was thrown after it. This did not do, and the stores with overstocked Fourth of July fireworks were drawn upon. Rockets, Roman candles and the like were used, but without avail. The oil was of the lubricating kind and was not as inflammable as other grades. But if the mill men had succeeded, an appalling fate would have overtaken the unhappy men in the barges. To save themselves from death in fire they would have been forced to face the bullets from the watchers, and the escape of any of them alive would almost have been beyond hope.

Seeing their efforts were in vain, the defenders of the steel works rested and discussed matters. Hugh O'Donnell, cool-headed and anxious to avoid further bloodshed, seized a small American flag, mounted a pile of iron, and soon had the attention of the 2,000 maddened men who were shouting for blood. He began to calmly discuss the situation and to caution the men to move slowly. His words were received with cheers, and finding he had the crowd with him, he suggested that a truce be

arranged until the arrival of the sheriffs. He said a white flag should be carried to the bank and was about to explain further, when a shout went up from a thousand throats :

"Show the white flag! Never!" was tne cry. "They shot at one flag this morning, and if there is any white flag to be shown, it must fly from the boats!"

"What will we do, then?" asked O'Donnell.

"We will hold them in the boats till the Sheriff comes, and we will then swear out warrants for every man on a charge of murder. The Sheriff will then have to take them in charge," said one man, and shouts of approval rent the air.

Seeing that this was the desire of the men, O'Donnell stepped down and went to work to hold them to it, and prevent further conflict if possible.

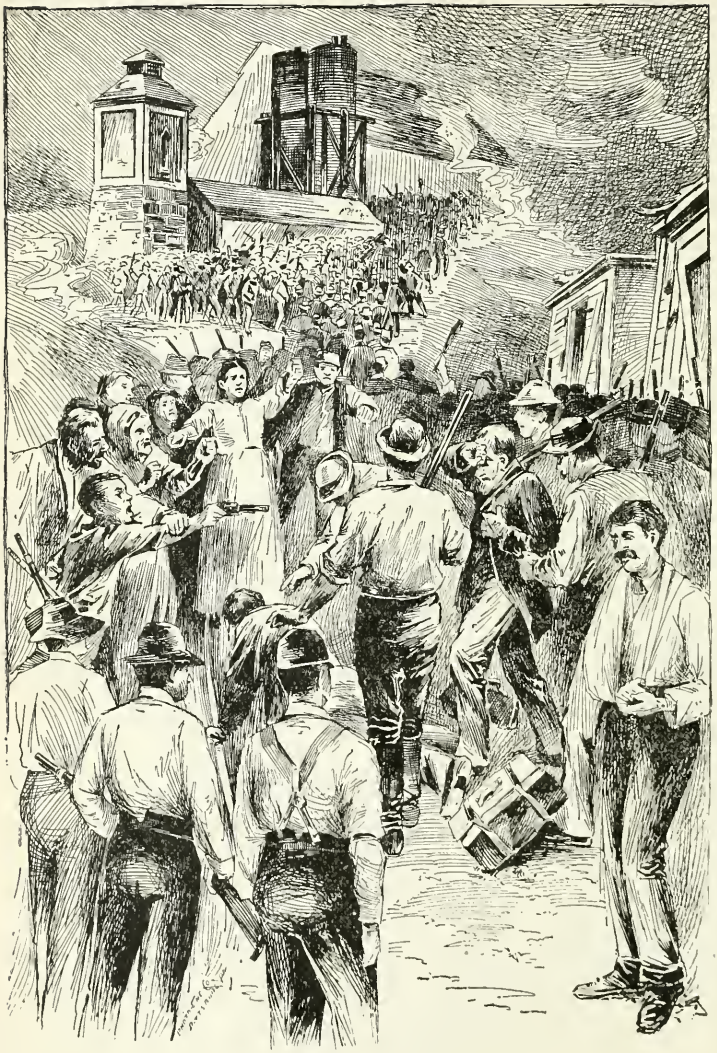
While the meeting in the mill was in progress another one was being held in the boat. The result was shown by a white handkerchief being shoved cautiously out of an opening, and cheers greeted it.

"They surrender! Victory! We have them now!" and like cries rang out. Then Hugh O'Donnell, accompanied by two of the old Advisory Committee, ran down the steep embankment to receive the message of peace. The spokesman of the Pinkertons announced that they would surrender on condition that they be protected from the violence of the men. After a short parley this was agreed to, though a multitude of enraged men

were howling for the blood of those who had killed their comrades.

As soon as the Committee had arranged the preliminaries, a hundred or more from the shore climbed upon the boat. Reporters entered and there found one dead and eleven wounded Pinkerton men. Asked where they came from, one big fellow who looked like a tough, said Boston and Chicago had furnished the most of them, but there were some from other places. Not more than a couple of Pittsburgers were in the gang, he said. His experience in the boat was the worst he ever had, although he had been in some warm places. Some of the men, he said, even cried from fear, and not many expected to get away with whole skins. The steelworkers did not let them talk long, but ordered them to hurry out. The first one to leave had his Winchester rifle with him.

"Disarm them!" cried the crowd on the bank, and as each man came out, his gun was taken and became the property of him who took it. Then began a looting of the boat with the bunks and provisions. The uniforms intended for the guards were either thrown into the river or given to the Hungarians. Everything of the slightest value that was portable was carried away by the crowd. When the boats had been looted the march of the captured crew began. Down the gang plank, one by one, they came, and that they might be distinguished from the men on the bank, or that none



RUNNING THE GAUNTLET.

would get away, they were forced to walk with uncovered heads.

And such a gauntlet as they had to run! For a distance of 2,000 feet one was formed, and through this the Pinkerton men walked, ran, or crawled as best they could. The first to leave got only hoots and jeers. Then, with open hands, the men who formed the gauntlet, began to strike the uncovered heads. The leaders were unable to do anything with the crowd, and soon clubs were introduced. This was in the mill yard near the end of the gauntlet. The rule was, "when you see an uncovered head, hit it."

"Murder! murder!" shrieked the frightened ones as the blows rang on their heads.

"Men, for the love of God, have mercy upon me—don't kill me!" pleaded a gray-haired man down whose head and face was flowing blood from many wounds. Their hats, their satchels and even their coats were taken from them, either to be torn into shreds or carried away. The police force of the steel workers and advisory board tried to save them but it was no use. When a man reached the top of the bank he would receive a blow from a club that would fell him to the earth. When he got up he always ran, and blows from fists and clubs were rained upon his unprotected head.

One young fellow, with blanched face, saw what awaited him, and burst into tears. Dropping to his knees he prayed for mercy, but he was

soon raised to his feet by kicks from all sides. Then he started to run and as he did so a blow from a blood-stained club laid him low. Two men ran to him and escorted him safely to the end of the gauntlet. Women, too, were in line, and they plied clubs and stones as vigorously as did the men. They made more noise, for they were hooting and continually urging the men on to the fearful work. The only guards that escaped assault were the wounded, and they were greeted with howls and cries that must have caused them to pray for death.

Through with the gauntlet at the mills, the unhappy men had another one to run. On the streets were women and children and a few straggling steel workers. As the wounded guards ran, mud, stones and other missiles struck them, and hoots and yells rent the air. Following them was a crowd of men whose duty it was to see that none got away, and, so far as was learned, not one escaped. They were rounded up like frightened sheep in a corner of the town and then driven to the old rink. Then they were locked in and glad were they to be off the streets, for it seemed that every man, woman and child felt it a duty to add to the misery of each one whose head was cut—and each Pinkerton head was bleeding profusely. After placing a guard at the hall, the workmen withdrew, and a message was sent to W. J. Brennen asking him to come to Homestead and advise the victors as to the disposal of the prisoners-of-war.

When the last guard had left the barges, someone cried: "Burn the boats!" The suggestion was a taking one and the excited victors only waited long enough to unload several boxes of Winchester rifles and ammunition, and then satisfied they had all the arms, the torch was applied to the barges, the Iron Mountain and Monongahela simultaneously. The dry wood upon the inside being saturated with oil, it was not long until the flames were leaping far above the river bank, and the crowd was driven back by the intense heat.

Nero could not have rejoiced more than did those steel workers when they saw the barges wrapped in flames. They shouted joyfully, cheered lustily, and their cries of delight were echoed back by men on the other side of the river who were standing by the now silent cannon. Nor did they cease their manifestations of joy until the fire burned to the water's side, and the smouldering embers were swallowed up by the peaceful river.

When the crowd had first rushed upon the barges after the surrender of the Pinkertons, they seemed to be deserted, but hidden under the bunks, behind boxes, or anything that offered concealment, were the captured ones. They were dragged out but not maltreated there. That was left to those on the river bank. They shivered, though it was hot, and their lips trembled when they spoke. One of them, in a pitiful tone, said: "For God's sake, don't ask me anything—only

let me get out of here!" And the tears rolled down his cheeks, marking furrows through the perspiration and dust that had gathered there.

There was an Irishman among the guards, and it was so evident that he was an Irishman that it was unnecessary to ask him his native land. When he got outside and was making his way through the gauntlet, an Irish steel-worker caught sight of his face. "Luk at the Oirish black-guard!" he shouted, and a hundred other sons of Erin saw him. "You're a disgrace to your counthry!" they cried, as they showered blows upon his head.

"Oim as good an Oirishman as any of ye, and Oim as good a man, too," he shouted, when he got away.

"Be jabbers, and he's a Tip!" shouted one of his assailants, and he rushed after him to deliver a few extra cracks.

This was only an incident of that terrible gauntlet which all had to run. Some of the braver ones were inclined to resist the blows and indignities at first, but they soon saw that death awaited resistance. One of the first things the victors did after the surrender was to secure a roll-book. It contained 266 names divided into squads of 20, each commanded by a lieutenant. This book showed that some of the men had been on guard at Walston, near Punxsutawney, at Cleveland and other points where labor troubles had existed. Such notes as "Strike ended; transported to Walston; sent to Cleveland," etc., told the story.

CHAPTER VI.

Consultation among officials—A message from the wires—Planning for relief—Reaching an agreement—A graphic story—Reaching the rink—Stripping the guards—Improvised slung-shots—Distributing the rifles—Food for hundreds—Firing the boats.

Realizing the desperate position in which the captured Pinkerton men were now placed, and the immediate necessity of getting them away from the scene of trouble, the Sheriff called in William Weihe, President of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, and requested him to go to Homestead and endeavor to enter into negotiations with the strikers in order that the guards might be allowed to depart peaceably. The result of his errand was told in a dispatch, as follows:

"When I got to Homestead I gathered together a number of the leaders of the workmen, the Advisory Committee having been disbanded, and asked them to go with me to where the crowd was assembled, and try to persuade the men to consent to the safe departure of the Pinkertons. The crowd was so large and the excitement so great

that it was impossible to get any definite expression of the wishes of the men, but I must say there was a strong feeling manifested to permit the guards to depart without disturbance or further bloodshed."

The news of the surrender of the Pinkerton forces had preceded Mr Weihe to Pittsburg, and the question of getting them out of the hands of their captors was the subject of a long consultation, in Sheriff McCleary's private office, between the Sheriff, Mr Weihe, M. M. Garland, president-elect of the Amalgamated Association, Secretary Stephen Madden, Assistant Secretary Killgallon, Treasurer E. A. Keil, P. H. McEvey, and other Amalgamated officials, and Judge Porter, C. L. Magee, Vincent Stevens, W. A. Magee, ex-Sheriff Hunter and District Attorney Burleigh.

As no reliable information could be obtained as to where the Pinkerton men were held after their surrender, it was decided to ascertain, if possible, their exact condition, and to then procure a special train upon which the Sheriff, with the Amalgamated officials, and Mr W. J. Brennen, the attorney for the Homestead men, should proceed to the scene of trouble and endeavor to get the surrendered forces away in safety.

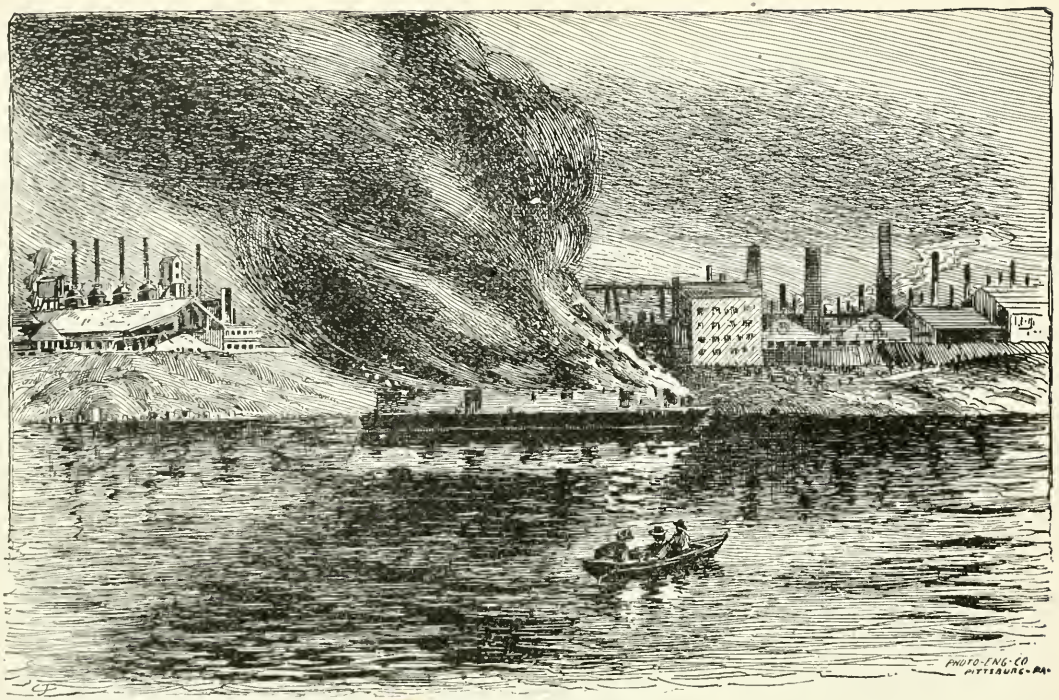
While this plan was in formation, a telephone message was received from Dr Gladden, a member of the Homestead borough Council, to the effect that that body had met the strikers and that an agreement had been made by which the Pinkerton

men would be delivered into the custody of the Sheriff.

This apparently simplified matters, and a special train was at once procured, which left at 10 o'clock. Sheriff McCleary, accompanied by William Weihe, Stephen Madden, M. M. Garland, P. H. McEvey, Samuel Waltnight, Walter Craig, Assistant Secretary Killgallon and W. J. Brennen, departed on their errand.

John Martin, ticket agent of the Panhandle and Pittsburg, Virginia and Charleston roads, on Fourth avenue, was a spectator of the surrender of the Pinkertons. Mr Martin thus describes the dramatic scene in an interview a few hours after the terrible encounter.

"The crowd at the surrender reminded me of some enormous picnic or outdoor gathering on a holiday. The hills on all sides were black with people massed together. When the cannon was masked in front of the barge, the Pinkertons knew it was all up with them, and tried to make the best terms possible with the determined crowd on the shore. The latter took them from the boat in double file and for a moment did not know what to do with them. Cries of 'To the woods! To the woods! Lynch the dogs!' were heard on all sides. Each one of the men seemed as if he wanted a particular man of the guards. After considerable parleying some one suggested that the prisoners be marched to the big skating rink, and there tried for murder. Many of the captors



THE BURNING BARGES.

would not listen to this. Some of the Slav laborers wanted to take the scared Pinkertons and shoot them down as they stood. Cooler counsels, however, prevailed, and the march to the rink began.

"The Pinkertons were frightened half to death, as the looks of the strikers were not calculated to inspire them with any hope of mercy. Many of them quaked with fear and had to be supported to prevent them from falling to the ground. Several thousand people crowded around them from all sides and demanded revenge for the killing of the steel-workers during the day. In the crowds were hundreds of Hungarian women who seemed worse than the men. They gathered around and tore the clothes from the backs of the guards. The latter had their Pinkerton uniforms on over their citizens' clothes, and these were torn from their backs and tossed into the river. All their fire arms were taken from them, and it required considerable fighting before the leaders could force a passage through the crowd.

"Then, the scenes really began. The poor guards, scantily dressed, were forced to march through the town to the rink. On both sides stood lines of enraged laborers and their friends, hooting and yelling as they passed. As the guards proceeded up the gauntlet they were kicked, cuffed and beaten from all sides. Their captors tried to protect them, but it was a physical impossibility. They might as well have tried to stop a fusilade of bullets. Women and girls ran out of the lines and

with sticks and clubs beat the poor wretches. One woman had a stocking filled with iron, and with it she struck one of the Pinkerton men over the head. I do not believe that any of them escaped without having been cut and bruised. The leaders of the strikers could not keep their people away from the guards. Scenes that almost beggar description were enacted all the way to the rink. It was the general supposition that the men would be given a speedy trial and be convicted by a Judge Lynch jury.

"While the men were being formed in line for the march to the rink, part of the strikers boarded the boats. They ransacked everything and secured 360 rifles. There was no wrecking. The men just took from the boats what they considered of value, and then burned them. In one boat was found everything in the way of edibles. There were enough provisions to last a regiment a week. The Winchesters were divided up among the men, and many of the residents are now the possessors of first-class rifles. It did not take the barges long to burn after they were fired. Scores of shots were poured into the boats by the strikers as the flames were licking up everything. There was little pity expressed for the capture of the guards."

CHAPTER VII.

Sad results of strife—Filling the hospitals—Bruised and mangled—The wounded Pinkertons—Where they were from—Wages paid them—Dangerous work—Good marksmanship—Anarchists at work—Their narrow escape—Retribution—Position of the workman—They frown upon Anarchism—Absurd statements—In a prison cell.

The sad results of the strife were seen at the hospitals where men lay wounded and suffering. Twenty-eight of the unfortunate Pinkertons were taken to the West Penn hospital, and a more melancholy sight could not be imagined. There were men with broken arms and disjointed ankles; others with shattered noses and lacerated faces, and many with bruised heads and injured backs, presenting, altogether, as they lay in their various wards, a pitiful picture of human misery. In addition to their sufferings of the body, was the recollection of those terrible hours in the death-traps from which there appeared no escape; of the sickening scenes in which their dead comrades were the central figures, and of the dreadful suspense accompanying the bursting of each fearful stick

of dynamite as it struck the frail craft and exploded with a force so startling that death itself would have been welcomed, each time, as a relief.

As soon as it was known that the Pinkerton men had surrendered, Superintendent Cowen, of the West Penn hospital, sent surgeons Lewin and Walker, accompanied by Clerk Woodward, to the scene to care for the disabled. Arriving at Homestead, they found many of the Pinkerton men badly in need of medical attendance, and after ministering to their wants as far as possible, they took those most badly injured to the hospital. Their names follow :

Edward McGuff, Philadelphia, shot in the leg.

Fred. Primers, Philadelphia, scalp wound and internal injuries.

E. A. Spear, Chicago, wound in left leg.

Chris. Lamb, Philadelphia, injured back.

Patrick McGuire, Baltimore, gunshot wound in left arm.

Wm A Regar, Philadelphia, wounded in leg and scalp.

John Smith, Chicago, wounded in left hand by a bullet.

H. W. McGregory, Philadelphia, scalp wound.

George Hall, Chicago, contusion of right arm.

Fred. Asbury, Philadelphia, scalp wound.

James Murphy, Brooklyn, contusion of head.

D. J. Zeigler, Philadelphia, scalp wound and injured in abdomen.

James Maloy, Chicago, wounded in right arm.

Charles Northrup, Chicago, injured back.

E. A. Covert, Brooklyn, bullet wounds in right forearm and thigh.

Patrick McGoff, Chicago, shot in abdomen.

Lewis Flager, Chicago, wounded in arm and scalp.

John Lutz, New York, scalp wound.

Anthony Callner, Philadelphia, wounded in head and back.

George Wright, New York, badly bruised.

William McKinnon, New York, contusion of right leg.

Fred. Gerhart, New York, scalp wound and contusion of eye.

James H. Pugh, Brooklyn, contusion of eye and arm hurt.

Edward Milstead, Chicago, lip cut.

J. F. Scofield, Chicago, head badly bruised.

W. H. Johnson, Chicago, left ankle dislocated.

Mike Gough, Chicago, shot in groin.

John Gridden, New York, scalp wound and otherwise hurt.

Others of the guards were distributed among the other hospitals.

Captain Fred. W. Hinde, David Lester, Russel Wells, George W. Rutter and J. T. Hoffman were removed to the Homeopathic hospital.

J. T. McCurry, a watchman of the Little Bill, was taken to the Allegheny hospital.

Joe Zaido, a Hungarian and a striker, shot in the thigh, was taken to the South Side hospital.

Mike Laughlin, a striker, was placed in the Mercy hospital.

As an example of how the wounded men felt immediately after being removed from the scene of carnage and safely located in the hospitals, a number of interviews are appended. One man, who requested that his name be withheld, said:

"About 4 o'clock, when we had given up all hope, a steamer came down the river, and we implored the captain to take us along, but he refused and went on. After this, there was but one hope, and that was in a surrender. I have been with the Pinkertons about three days. I live in Philadelphia and was out of work; so, when they advertised for men I offered my services, not knowing where I was going to or for what purpose. I have had an experience never to be forgotten and never to be repeated. It was the first naval battle I was ever in and I want it to be the last."

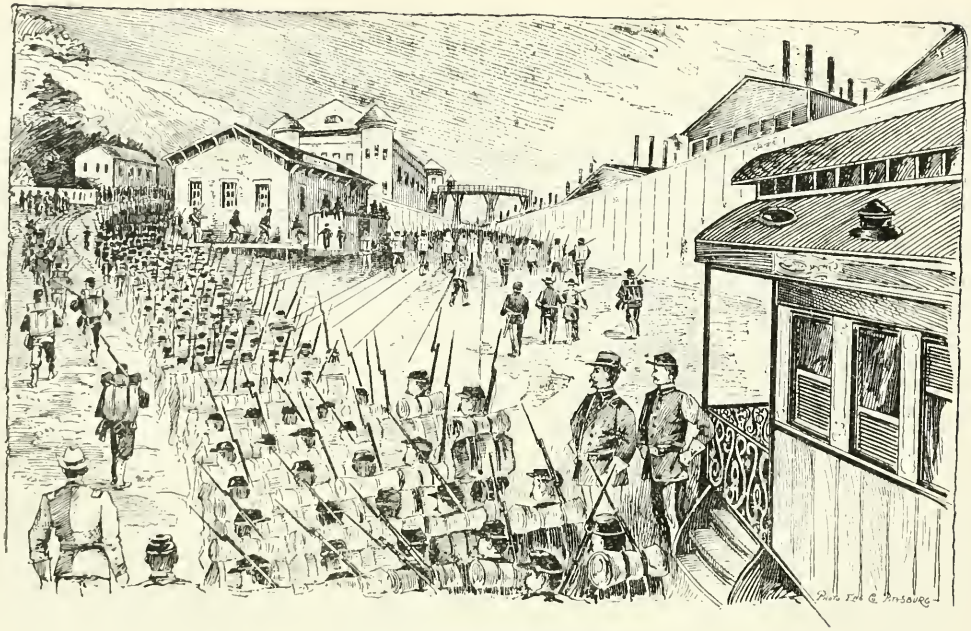
"We receive $15 per week," said another, and sometimes more, when the job is short and the work is dangerous. I went to Homestead for $15 per week but would not go back for $15,000 per minute." The man who reclined upon an adjoining bed was a foreigner by birth. He had his eyes blackened, his jaw broken, his nose mashed, and a few fractured ribs. He said:

"I received all these bruises after we surrendered. I wish we had staid in the boat. We might as well have been shot to death as clubbed into cripples and have our faces mashed."

John Smith, of Philadelphia, who had been shot in the left arm, said that he was a watchman, meaning by that a regular Pinkerton employee. He spoke :

"I have been in the service a good while, but I never saw such scenes as I witnessed to-day. This is the first time that Pinkerton men have ever failed in an undertaking, but I guess they haven't had much experience in marine business. There are good marksmen at Homestead. Every time a man passed an opening in the board, the rifle balls came whizzing through like hail, and often in time to catch a man as the wound in my arm will show."

It is a remarkable fact that the strikers exhibited unusual skill in handling and discharging their weapons. Proof is not wanting to show that they had inferior fire arms, consisting chiefly of small rifles, shot gun and target rifles, and yet the execution they accomplished would have been creditable to regular Government troops. The assertion by irresponsible parties that the mill hands had been preparing for this conflict, which, as the reports went, seemed inevitable, is subject to impeachment. Up to the point where the surrender of the guards occurred, there were probably not more than a few repeating rifles in possession of the strikers. When, however, the capture was effected, the increase in fire arms, improved 16-shot Winchester rifles, was numbered at 240. What repeating rifles had originally been in possession of



ARRIVAL OF THE TROOPS.

Homestead people were obtained sometime during the morning of the attack.

The two cannons used with telling effect had long been the property of the municipal corporation, and were employed only in parades and during holidays. These guns are of brass material and load at the breech with the common primer and cord attachment. They are five feet in length, and rest upon the ordinary and conventional wood carriage formerly in vogue. They are of the Napoleon type of cannon, and when in skillful hands, at short range, are capable of no little execution. The dynamite which carried such consternation to the hearts of the entrapped guards is said to have been an improvisation, and one that was arranged for after the heat of the battle had begun. The strikers sent carriers to the city, who, with the assistance of Pittsburg friends, procured the deadly explosive. The disastrous consequences that followed have already been related.

While upon this subject it is fitting that some reference be made to the action of the iron-workers when they were confronted by the anarchists, John Powers and his assistant. These men suddenly appeared in Homestead and began to circulate inflamable material in the form of an "address," which began with this ominous sentence: "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God!" and closing with, "Brothers, become Anarchists!" Although the strikers had been liberal in their use of dynamite in dislodging the

enemies who had carried death and destruction into their ranks, they at once rejected the overtures of the anarchists, whose profession teaches the use of this destructive agency, and with considerable difficulty the cooler heads saved Powers and his companion from the wrath of the indignant strikers after they had realized the full import of the "address." The bold attempt of this pair of law-breakers who entered the council chambers of the strikers and began the distribution of their literature, almost proved their ruin, for the excited crowd demanded that they suffer the penalty of death. Wiser counsel prevailed, however, and, with difficulty they were taken to the lock-up, where Powers furnished the rather ridiculous statement that he "had found the bunches of circulars in Homestead, and supposing that they belonged to the strikers, he had proceeded to scatter them among their rightful owners."

CHAPTER VIII.

A calm after the storm—Melancholy duties performed—Effects of sacred music—Filling the churches—A prattling babe—The dead march—"Nearer My God to Thee"—An unnecessary duty—Consequences of force—The mother of Morris stricken ill—The last kiss—A lonely home—The Slav's funeral—Silas Waine buried—The widow's wail—A prayer for the enemies' wives.

The turmoil of Wednesday gave way to quietude the following day. The men and women whose rage knew no bounds on the occasion of the attack, were subdued and sorrowful when the sun smiled upon the scene on Thursday. They realized that there was a grave duty for them to perform. They were about to look upon the features of three of their number for the last time. They were to be in the presence of the dead and to hear the farewell words spoken in the temples of God. They were to be soothed by the voices of men and women in sacred songs, as they were encouraged yesterday by these same voices, with shouts and imprecations, to defend themselves. They were to hear the earth fall upon the coffins of the slain, mingled with the sobs of these dead men's families. They knew there would be no restraint to

their own sadness, for tears of sympathy are easily drawn, and in this instance the fountains of many hundreds and thousands of human hearts were overflowing.

Little wonder, then, that as the time for services approached there was scarcely breathing room in the three churches. All traces of carnage had been removed by the men, and their faces were clean-shaven. They wore their best clothes and carried themselves as if they had never seen a day of strife. Their wives and sisters and sweethearts were by their sides and soon the churches were filled to overflowing. They were to pay their last respects to John E. Morris, Silas Waine and Peter Fareis.

Undertaker Gillen, at 11:45 o'clock, drove up to the vine-clad cottage of Morris, which is on Eighth Avenue, near McClure Street. He carried in his hand a wreath of white roses. Entering the house he placed the flowers upon the coffin, which was a modest affair and not a gilded casket. Then, followed by the dead man's wife, his aged mother and two sisters, one of whom carried a prattling infant that had shortly before been the joy of the youthful father's heart, the undertaker and his assistants bore the corpse to the hearse. Preceded by a band of musicians who played the Dead March and followed by several carriages containing the bereaved family and a few intimate friends, the melancholy procession moved on its way, first to the church and then to the city of the dead. The

head turned into McClure street and was met by 200 members of Magdala Lodge, I. O. O. F., in funeral costume. Two lines were formed, and down between these rows of brothers moved the cortege. The Methodist Church on Fourth avenue was reached in a few minutes. Every seat was occupied and scores of men and women were standing in the aisles. The two front pews to the left had been reserved for the grief-stricken family. The long black box that contained the remains of young Morris was placed beneath the pulpit, and many floral offerings were laid upon a table to the right. The upper half of the coffin was removed, and services began.

"Nearer My God to Thee." That was the hymn which thrilled every soul in the building. It was sung by a quartette—a soprano and three male voices. The minister read a chapter from the Revelation and asked the congregation to sing "Sweet Hour of Prayer." They made a brave effort and almost succeeded.

"The choir will now please sing Rock of Ages," said the preacher. When the last note died away the fountains of grief were freely flowing.

The minister, the Rev. S. J. McIlyar, expressed a desire to be correctly reported by press representatives and then carefully reviewed the situation respecting the relations of the company and the men from the time the differences began to the day of the battle. He said that in his life he had

officiated at funeral services of high military officials and common soldiers; he had preached sermons of those who had been carried off by disease and pestilence; he had helped to bury the dead from small-pox and cholera, but never before had he been called upon to perform such a sad and unnecessary duty as this one. He believed that when capital and labor could not agree, arbitration should be employed, and under no circumstances should force be resorted to. During the interval between the strike and the time when the barges were towed up the river, peace had reigned supreme. The Sheriff had come and had conferred with the striking men. There had been no disturbance, and the officers of the law were in no way molested.

"Then came the floating boats," he said, "and they were manned for warfare. Two gun boats filled with armed men with authority to take the place by storm if necessary. The force contemplated was what placed this blessed man here. He was only 24 years old and had been married but a brief space. His sweet wife is a member of this church, and every Sunday morning the two have come and listened to the word of God. John Morris would have been a member, too, in a short time."

The minister then spoke of the good work of the Amalgamated Association and in strong words condemned the action of the company. At this point came applause, but it was soon turned into silence by the moans and sobs of Mrs. Morris, and

the sudden illness of the mother of the deceased. "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," was rendered, and a last look into the upturned face was afforded. The young wife raised her veil and with tears coursing down her cheeks she gazed long and steadily upon the beloved countenance. She gently brushed aside the dark curl which hid from view that cruel wound in the forehead. The hole had been obscured as well as possible by a piece of plaster. Stooping over, the little wife imprinted a kiss upon her husband's lips and then turned away never to see those features again.

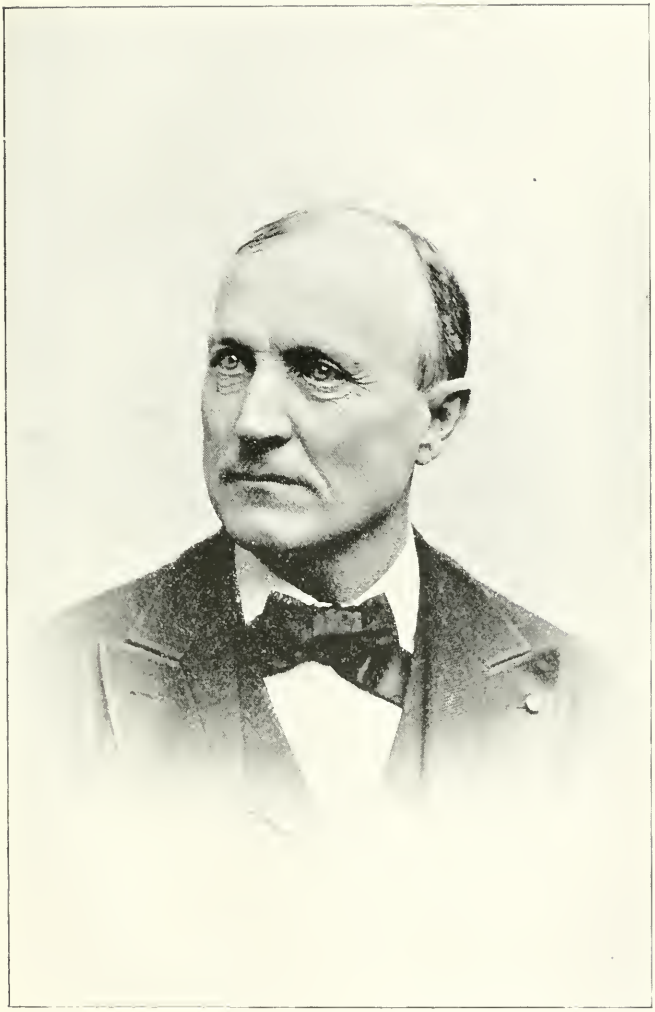
It was a long distance to the cemetery and the day was hot. The roads were dusty, and the men and women of Homestead were exhausted; but three thousand people followed the remains of John Morris up the steep hill, and, with uncovered head, stood mutely by the grave while the lodge services were read and the minister offered up the last prayer. When the first spade full of dirt fell upon the box lid and gave back that hollow sound we all have heard, a shudder passed through the slight frame of the young widow and a soft moan escaped her lips. She gave no other sign of distress, but, with bowed head and measured tread, she walked back to her carriage and was driven to her lonely home.

Just before the Morris procession reached the gate that leads into the graveyard, another funeral line appeared, and at the end of the lane the two separated. This acquisition to solemn rites

was the funeral of Peter Fareis, the Slav, who met his fate in the first skirmish. He was a big fellow, with brave heart and sunny disposition. Hence, he had many friends among his countrymen and not a few in other directions. They followed him to his last home by the hundreds, and there, in the manner best befitting such an occasion, attested their loyalty and their regard. The impassioned address of the Rev. Ramund Wider, of the Slavonic Church, of Braddock, created much feeling which manifested itself in expressions of resentment against the steel company. The priestly robes and the earnestness of the man who wore them, united with the action of the Slavs who made no attempt to conceal their feelings, created a dramatic scene rarely ever witnessed by the side of a grave.

Scarcely had these men been laid away when the third cortege appeared, and the mutilated remains of Silas Waine were lowered into the home of the dead. Silas was the millworker who, early in the day, was struck by a grape-shot from the cannon across the river, and whose head was almost severed by the missile. Services were conducted by the Rev. John B. Glass, of the Free Methodist Church, and the remains were laid to rest as the sun began his evening flight from the sight of the Homesteaders.

Three hours passed away with no demonstrations other than what might have been anticipated under such distressing circumstances. In all her



W. W. ERWIN.

grief Mrs. Morris's sympathetic heart seemed to bleed for the poor wives of the dead Pinkertons. Immediately after the funeral she gave utterance to this sentiment. At the same time her own pathetic condition was expressed in these few words:

"Our little home was almost paid for and we were so happy. I was afraid John would meet with some terrible calamity and I begged him not to go out yesterday, but he said he would rather die fighting for what he termed a principle; and so, he shouldered his rifle and marched out to meet his death. I feel sorry for the widows of those guards and wish I could give back to them their husbands."

CHAPTER IX.

Sheriff McCleary's actions— Calling for deputies—List of those responding—A message to the Governor—Grave apprehensions—Important conferences— Summoning Homestead business men—A fire brand—An excited throng—Additional funerals—Sensational sermons—Stoical Hungarians—A mournful dirge—Hearts of steel—Denunciation—At the graves.

The profoundest interest now centered in the ability of Sheriff McCleary to preserve order, re-establish confidence and eradicate the bitter feeling engendered by the occurrences of the past forty-eight hours. Opinion as to his probable success was divided, and it may have been with many misgivings that he undertook the task. With promptness he pursued the legal course of serving notices, both publicly and privately, upon citizens of all walks in life. Out of four hundred notices thus served on Thursday, only thirty-five men were secured. All sorts of excuses were offered, some of which were reasonable and many of which were absurd. In a dispatch, subjoined, the sheriff informed Governor Pattison of his tribulations, exercising care to point out the part played by the Amalgamated Association in assisting to rescue

the guards from what many thought a still perilous position.

On the evening of Thursday, the sheriff sent the following message to his excellency, Governor Pattison :

"Last night I went to Homestead, accompanied by officials of the Amalgamated Association, and succeeded in bringing away the guards sent by river, who had surrendered to the rioters. The arms of the guards, who numbered about 300, are all in possession of the rioters. To-day everything is quiet. The works are in possession of a large force of the rioters. Any attempt upon the part of the civil authorities to dispossess them, will be met by resistance. Last evening I issued a general summons to citizens to attend this morning at nine o'clock to aid in restoring order, and I also issued a large number of notices to individuals. The result is, that up to noon to-day thirty-five persons have reported, all without arms. Thousands have been notified to appear to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, and I have issued several thousand notices to individuals, summoning them to appear at the same time. These notices will be served to-day. I am satisfied from present indications that I will be unable to obtain any considerable force, and the force thus gathered, without discipline and arms, will be of no use whatever. As soon as any effort is made to take possession of the property another outbreak will occur.

"W. H. McCleary, Sheriff."

Although the sheriff did not expect an immediate reply, he remained at his office for hours, simply to be on the spot should an answer come.

The names of those who responded to the sheriff's call on Thursday, are as follows:

John D. Bailey, stock broker and auctioneer.
F. C. Miller, attorney.
G. B. Barrett, wholesale jeweler.
W. G. Price, iron and lead manufacturer.
Webster Gray, tailor and importer.
W. E. Tustin, real estate dealer.
J. B. Hyndman, police magistrate.
John A. Reed, manager.
A. J. Barr, editor.
Edward Craig, attorney.
A. K. Scandrett, attorney.
Emil Winter, wholesale merchant.
E. S. Giles, wholesale milliner.
William Price.
I. L. Cullingwood.
H. K. Manley.
Wm Eisner, merchant tailor.
Scott Ward.
R. S. Frasier.
D. W. C. Carroll, contractor.
Joseph Nevin, newspaper manager.
J. T. Wood.
J. B. Steen, coal dealer.
T. O'Leary, glass manufacturer.
J. H. Aiken, men's furnishing goods.
Wm Sewell, attorney.

Joseph Horne, dry goods merchant.
O. D. Thompson, attorney.
Arthur Kennedy, attorney.
A. M. Cavitt, china merchant.
J. H. Mueller, attorney.
G. H. Quaill, attorney.
Alex. McGunnegel, clerk.
Casper Leff, billiards.
J. G. Weir, county commissioner.

The gravest apprehensions were felt by both sides. The sheriff found it absolutely impossible to secure the assistance of more than a mere handful of men, while the strikers looked with no little suspicion upon his movements—some going so far as to claim that he was simply misleading them in order that another force of Pinkertons might be smuggled into the mills. The strikers, anticipating the introduction of the militia into the drama, held a meeting and appointed a committee to visit Governor Pattison and acquaint him with the details as they understood them. Sheriff McCleary was expected at ten o'clock in the morning, but he failed to arrive until two hours later. He attended the gathering, and held a long consultation with such men as President Weihe, Vice-President Garland and others. This conference resulted in nothing, as the mill hands claimed that the rank and file of their number had not yet settled upon a definite plan, and until they decided what course with reference to admitting deputies

was best, no action could or would be taken by the leaders. The added counsels of John S. Shafer, the druggist, David Lynch and Burgess McLuckie, failed to solve the problem—many of the mill hands still insisting that there was not a full representation of their forces.

At 4:30 o'clock the sheriff began to send messengers to representative business men of Homestead, asking them to attend the meeting and lend their support to a solution of the mixed question. Six men responded and without an exception flatly refused to serve as deputies. It had been reported that Dr Gladden, the steel company's physician and surgeon, had furnished Sheriff McClearey a list of business men who would probably serve in this capacity, and this proved another fire-brand. The sheriff and the doctor felt it incumbent to deny the rumor, which in a measure, produced a salutory effect. The sheriff then announced publicly that his present visit was not the outgrowth of a request from anyone in Homestead. It was true that he had been furnished a list of twenty names of reputable business men who, it was reported, said they would be willing to serve as deputies, but that out of this number only six had seen fit to answer his summons, and they, in most positive terms, had declined to have anything to do with the matter. As this visit had not been prolific of results, the sheriff announced that he would start back to Pittsburg. While on his way to the depot he was

surrounded by an excited throng, but no demonstrations were made. One fellow annoyed the officer until he was compelled to threaten his arrest. This had the desired effect and the man subsided. At about this time rumors that deputies had been sent to McKeesport and Braddock to enlist aid, caused a fresh outbreak of uneasiness among the mill hands, but, as in every instance, when a rumor failed to develop into a fact, it was only a brief period until the excitement subsided.

While these scenes were being enacted, other and more solemn ones were in progress. Three additional funerals were being held. Three more victims of the guards' deadly work were receiving the attention that distressed friends had paid to Morris and his dead companions the day before. Henry Streigle, the lad who had been mortally wounded in the fight of yesterday, had died, and the Germania band, of Pittsburg, was playing a dirge in honor of his memory. The Birmingham Turnverein had taken charge of the services. The Rev. Father Bausch, of St Francis German Catholic Church, expatiated upon the virtues of the boy and the frightful consequences of precipitating war among men. The sword, so the good father said, must give way to tuition and the hearts of humanity must be softened, so that the world would observe that universal sentiment—live and let live. There were no ceremonies at the grave —only the emotions expressed by the boy's rela-

tives and friends. The parade was an imposing one, numbering several hundred. The remains were interred at St Mary's Cemetery.

Possibly the most striking demonstration of all was the funeral of Joseph Sotak, the Hungarian. The Methodist Episcopal Church was inadequate for the accommodation of more than three hundred people, and so twice that number remained outside while the Rev. John Kovacs delivered an impassioned address to those upon the inside. They were typical Hungarians—stoical, morose and silent, but their countenances reflected their feelings and left an impression upon the keen observer that the bitter experiences of the recent past would never be forgotten. Aye, and the sins of their enemies would never be forgiven! Stoically, morosely and silently they drank in the words of the man in the pulpit, and then, when it was time for them to sing, they chanted a wierd dirge, which harmonized with the tragic circumstances. There were but eight women in the audience, and eight women among three hundred brawny men who were burying a comrade thus, could not be expected to exert that gentle influence which softens hearts of steel and causes men to forget they have been injured. When the minister denounced the Pinkertons as a lawless mob, there was no audible expression—the Hungarians' glares grew fiercer and they set their teeth together more firmly. That was all. Then they followed the hearse to the grave, and escorted the parents back to their humble abode.

The ceremonies over the remains of Thomas Weldon were both brief and simple. They were held under the auspices of the Homestead Beneficial Association, assisted by the Amalgamated Association, and the body was laid to rest in St Mary's cemetery. The Germania band, of Pittsburg, furnished the music for the occasion, and services were confined to the place where the last disposition was made.

CHAPTER X.

Arbitration espoused and condemned—The dreadful alarm—Ready for the enemy—Shipping the Pinkertons—A night of terror—A hungry horde — The guard's suicide — A burning question—Available Militiamen—Mr Lovejoy's statement—The troublesome deputy problem—Reluctant Militiamen—Coroner McDowell—The inquest postponed—Waiting for quiet—No evidence attainable.

The passage of these pathetic occurrences into history, was followed by the immediate increase of the crowds on the streets and near the mills. The discussions with reference to arbitration (this subject having been presented anew by some one anxious for a settlement of the troubles) took on a decidedly animated color. It had been understood that interested parties were desirous of selecting as arbitrators, Governor Pattison, of Pennsylvania, Governor McKinley, of Ohio, and T. V. Powderly, General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor. To this proposition there was a most vigorous protest. Stephen Madden claimed that under no circumstances would the Amalgamated Association suffer the humiliation of making overtures. He thought if overtures were made by Mr Frick, that

would be a different matter, but he knew that Mr Frick would spurn a proposition emanating from the strikers. Besides, the committee named would not be satisfactory, in any sense of the word, to the Amalgamated Association.

While this question was engaging the attention of all, some person gave the alarm that the Pinkertons were coming again. Like magic the men were at their posts of defense. There was nothing to fear from this source, for the crushed and bleeding guards were then on their way home. They had been shipped on a special over the Pennsylvania railroad which left the Eighteenth street yards in Pittsburg at ten o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Philadelphia thirteen hours later. The arrangements for their departure had been accomplished so stealthily that no one could ascertain in what manner they were to be disposed of. The local officials were utterly ignorant of the matter, and concluded that negotiations must have been carried on with the president of the road. Hon. C. L. Magee, however, admitted that common human instinct dictated that the guards should be removed as soon as possible, and with this humane motive in view he had rendered what assistance he thought necessary. Further than that, he was at a loss to say what ultimate disposition of the men had been made.

It was subsequently learned that the Pinkertons spent a wretched night after their delivery from Homestead. They were confined in cars at Ben

Venue with nothing to eat and little to drink. They were guarded during the night by Inspector Silvus and a dozen uniformed officers, and Thursday morning they were given some lunch. There has been some misunderstanding as to the number that were taken east, but from authentic sources it can now be safely stated that there were 265 in the party. When they arrived at Germantown Junction, forty of them were allowed to depart for their homes in Philadelphia, while the remainder continued their journey to New York. One of the Philadelphia contingent related the tragedy of one of their number who refused to surrender. He preferred to die by his own hand, and walking toward the end of the boat most exposed, deliberately blew out his own brains, the body falling in plain view upon the deck.

"Will the militia be ordered out?" That question was uppermost in the minds of the strikers, the officers of the law, and the public in general. Something must be done, and the sheriff was in a quandary. He could not press into service enough men to accomplish the first move desired by the steel company. His exertions met with failure upon every hand. In the minds of the strikers there was a well grounded fear that as a last resort the Governor would feel it his duty to issue a call for the State Guards. This fear was not occasioned by reasoning that in such an event there would be more bloodshed, for the strikers as a body had agreed that there should be no resistance to the

soldiery. They simply would not tolerate the Pinkertons, and in this they were thoroughly determined. How, then, could matters be adjusted? No one wanted to see a repetition of the strife and carnage that had caused so much suffering. And yet, the mill-workers were loth to surrender the advantages they had gained by such fearful sacrifices.

In the midst of this suppressed excitement, the Pittsburg papers sought out General Wiley, and asked him for a statement concerning the standing of the State militia.

It was learned that the First Brigade, with headquarters at Philadelphia, consisted of the First, Second, Third and Sixth Regiments; the State Fencibles, of four companies; Battery "A;" Gray Invincibles (colored) company, and the City Troop Cavalry—in all mustering 2,500 men.

The headquarters of the Second Brigade were at Franklin, and was composed of the Fifth, Tenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Eighteenth Regiments; the Sheridan Troop of Cavalry of Tyrone, and Battery "B," numbering 3,100 men.

The Third Brigade, located at Lebanon, contained the Fourth, Eighth, Ninth, Twelfth and Thirteenth Regiments, besides the Governor's Troop of Cavalry and Battery "C," or 2,800 men.

Here was an army of 8,400 well-drilled men, splendidly equipped, and backed by the great State of Pennsylvania. It was indeed a formidable showing, and meant, if put into operation, defeat

for the strikers. But a new feature appeared. A large percentage of the State Guards were friends of the strikers and did not hesitate to express their sympathy in their behalf, while many of the militia openly declared that under no circumstances would they bear arms against their Homestead friends. Rumors that the spiking of guns at the batteries was contemplated, caused the guard duty to be increased, and, if a move of this character had been intended, it was thwarted. Gen. Wiley averred that in the event the State Guards were called out they would preserve life and property, and thus the matter stood.

In the meantime the sheriff could not extricate himself from his difficult position, and to further complicate his troubles, Secretary Lovejoy, of the steel company, gave publicity to his understanding of the Pinkerton's situation. If correctly reported at the time, Mr Lovejoy said:

"There will be no more Pinkertons enter into this contest. It was my understanding that they were to be sworn in as deputy sheriffs and that 300 of them were to be under the command of Captain Hein. The Chicago contingent was to be headed by Captain Klein."

Sheriff McCleary said that Deputy Sheriff Gray accompanied them simply as a representative of the sheriff of the county, and that no instructions were given to command or lead the guards. Gray was there as an officer to command the peace, and nothing more.

CHAPTER XI.

Soldier's opinion—Searching for facts—No call necessary—Strong appeal from Frick—Deputies not to be had—Fears of officials—The Governor's attitude—Property must be protected—Life is sweet—Merits not considered—Opening saloons—The pickets—Courtesy a watchword—No license for Pinkerton—Moral influence—Outside encouragement—Some shady records—Treacherous detectives.

The soldiery of Pennsylvania began to be drawn nearer and nearer towards the field of action, figuratively speaking. It had early become apparent to many, that in no other way could the Homestead troubles be adjusted. Doubtless no man knew this better than Sheriff McCleary, and had he felt disposed he could have put the National Guard machinery into motion before he did; but he hoped that some turn would be made to prevent this undesirable action.

The Governor, too, doubtless realized the inevitable, for he had given the affair close study, and, although he held his counsel, it was evident to the committee of strikers sent to Harrisburg to acquaint the Executive with their side of the matter, that in

the end an appeal would be made for the militia. Adjutant General Greenland was instructed to visit either Pittsburg or Homestead, or both points, and make an unbiased report to Governor Pattison.

The officer came and recognized the comparative quiet existing. He did not hesitate to convey his impression that it was unnecessary to call out the soldiers at present. This caused congratulations among the strikers. They reasoned that a continuation of good order meant a confirmation of General Greenland's judgment, and that each day passed thus, established a stronger hope that they would be permitted to resume their old positions in the mills. Alas, for the frail hopes of humanity. Darker pages in the history of Homestead are yet to be written, that the unhappy ending may be preserved for future generations, no matter how bitter the lesson or how humiliating to the participants in this memorable struggle.

A great wave of moral support in behalf of the strikers swept over the country. The local encouragement, strong and pure, was followed by expressions of the sincerest sympathy from labor unions in almost every city and industrial point in this broad land. Such unanimity had never been known, and many organizations proffered financial assistance at once. No material help was needed, however, but the moral effects of the kind words telegraphed from nearly all corners of the globe strengthened the hearts of the strikers and made them more determined than ever in their resolu-

"JACK" CLIFFORD.

tions. And yet a few of the keener and more far-sighted discerned the gathering of another storm in the distance. They knew that unless the mills were operated there must be a reaction, and they knew furthermore that the great body of their companions would never submit to the plan of placing deputies in charge of the works. They remembered the ominous words of Governor Pattison that "order must be observed and property and life protected, regardless of the merits of either side, if the state and national troops had to be called out." To the credit of the cooler heads at Homestead the statement that they themselves were religiously disposed to accomplish these very things, will bear repetition.

The Pinkertons, it seems, came in for cordial dislike from outside quarters also. Not at all popular with laboring people in any locality, this private corporation of blue-coated and brass-buttoned men proved a target for the public press, the denunciations of which, justly ended their importance in the successful operation of the affairs of mankind. They were denounced and derided for their brutality, and accused of acts unworthy of emulation by preservers of the peace. This feeling against the Pinkertons, entertained more especially toward the head of the organization, was not confined to the resolutions of condemnation by labor lodges, nor to the columns of the press, but cropped out, suddenly, in an unlooked-for locality. As in all cities of importance, they had a

branch agency in the city of Denver, Colorado, and when they made an application for the renewal of their license, Governor Routt made it his duty to prevent the necessary papers being issued. There had been some strikes in Colorado where the Pinkertons were employed as "guards," and in which they had become obnoxious. The miners' troubles at Butte were intensified by the employment of these people, and the great strike upon the Burlington Route developed further criticism. That this dissatisfaction must have permeated other classes than those vitally interested, was evident from Governor Routt's interference. At all events, this led to a fresh discussion of the matter, and eventually disposed of the power held so long in this country by the Pinkerton agency. It is now a conceded fact that the legislation against the methods of this association has been in the right direction, and the "detective" business is now carried on against thieves and robbers with greater success than it ever has been against workmen and other honest citizens.

To illustrate the character of the average detective, it may be well to remind the reader that two of the crowd who played star engagements at Homestead were once upon a time hard-working fellows, but in a moment of temptation they yielded to the overtures of some one in authority, and divulged to the Chicago end of the Pinkerton Association the secrets of the labor organization to which they belonged. They continued to play the

traitor up to the very hour the controversies put them in the witness-box of a court of justice, and while occupying this place held sacred among honorable men, made sworn statements that were subsequently proven to be untrue. The irony of fate placed them in after years in a position of terror controlled by the very class of men whom they had maligned and betrayed.

It is proverbial among the professions of law and journalism that the so-called detective is a creature whose every act will bear the closest scrutiny, and whose every motive needs careful analysis. The profession of law, in the criminal branch, requires the services of the "sleuth" because his life, in almost every case, has been in a line with that of the criminal for whose conviction the prosecution is striving. In a word, he is employed on the principle that it takes a thief to catch a thief. Hence, the prosecutor estimates the character of the person employed to expose the career of the criminal from an unerring standpoint, and usually requires a verification of the evidence before entrusting his witness to "take the stand." On the other hand, the defense invariably relies upon the integrity of a jury to discount the detective's story. And no case in which the defendant's character has been blackened by one of this ilk, was ever submitted to twelve men without the entire system of "sleuthing" receiving a scoring that ordinarily affects the verdict to the detriment of the prosecution. Search the records

of any court in the land, and these statements will be found to be true.

The profession of journalism has reason to fear the story related by the private detective. Many reputable newspapers decline with thanks a "tip" or "scoop" emanating in a brain so elastic. Many metropolitan journals have enjoyed libel suits through a too eager disposition to publish sensations furnished by detective agencies. The work of reporters, accomplished in a manly and straighforward way, is not only superior to that of private detectives, but is more expeditious, and certainly not to be degraded by comparison with the efforts of those mysterious individuals, whose very occupation is tinctured with deceit, and whose presence in a crowded thoroughfare is commonly looked upon by police officers as in some remote manner connected with a mission of theft. It often happens that an applicant for a position on the staff of an "association," finds his chances improved if he can say that he has "done time" in one or more prisons.

There was a time, in the days of sturdy old Allen Pinkerton, when the Pinkerton agency was useful and reputable. After the death of this veteran, an auxiliary for the protection of stores and buildings was added. These watchmen have been known to render good service, and the system is supposed to carry with it the weight of effective organization—an admirable feature in almost any successful institution. But, when another wing

was attached to this bird of prey, whose function consisted of spreading death throughout the ranks of laborers having misunderstandings with their employers, the world was shocked at the frightful crimes committed under the pretext that because the body happened to be covered with blue cloth, adorned with brass buttons, it gave the "guard" a license to club and shoot at will. The world not only stood aghast at the spectacle, but it entered a protest that ended in what is hoped will effect a final overthrow of the Pinkerton's power, and a complete annihilation of the pernicious system.

CHAPTER XII.

The fatal words—Soldiers ordered out—Great activity—Marshaling the forces—Burnishing of arms—Movements of the troops—Concentrating forces—Opinions of leaders—All serene—Submitting to authority—Willing to help—Sunday at Homestead—Pacific counsel—Attending Divine worship—The Salvation Army—Re-organizing the Advisory Committee—Pickets and guard.

The beginning of the end had come. Sheriff McCleary, following in the line suggested by the legal branch of the State Government, in a telegram to Governor Pattison, stated in plain English that in his opinion nothing but the presence of a large military force would enable him to control matters, and hence he asked for assistance. This course was necessary in order to legalize the call, and it was pursued only after the Governor was satisfied beyond a doubt that the sheriff had exhausted all means at his command. Governor Pattison had more than once said:

"The papers may criticise me to their hearts' content. The people forget that the National Guards are not for the purpose of performing police duty. There have been occasions when

sheriffs of Pennsylvania have not exhausted the means at their command for controlling mobs, but have simply called upon the Executive to place the militia in the field. I propose to have sheriffs exert themselves."

Residents of western Pennsylvania, particularly, are judges whether Sheriff McCleary exhausted his resources. The variety of excuses offered by those who had been summoned might have been multiplied many times, and yet the excuse market would not have been exhausted.

The following correspondence, carried on over the wires, will indicate to what extremes the State authorities and the sheriff of Allegheny county concluded they must go :

PITTSBURG, PA., July 10, 1892.

ROBERT E. PATTISON, Governor,

Harrisburg, Pa.:

The situation at Homestead has not improved. While all is quiet there, the strikers are in control, and openly express to me and the public their determination that the works shall not be operated unless by themselves. After making all efforts in my power, I have failed to secure a posse respectable enough in numbers to accomplish anything, and I am satisfied that no posse raised by civil authorities can do anything to change the condition of affairs, and that any attempt by an inadequate force to restore the right of law will only result in further armed resistance and consequent loss of life. Only a large military force will enable me to control matters. I believe if such a force is

sent the disorderly element will be overawed and order will be restored I therefore call upon you for assistance.

WILLIAM H. MCCLEARY, Sheriff.

GEORGE R. SNOWDEN,
Maj. Gen. Commanding N. G. P.:

Put the division under arms and move at once, with ammunition, to the support of the sheriff of Allegheny county, at Homestead. Maintain the peace, protect all persons in their rights under the constitution and laws of the State. Communicate with me.

ROBERT E. PATTISON, Governor.
Harrisburg, July 10, 1892.

WILLIAM H. MCCLEARY, Sheriff:

Have ordered Maj. Gen. Geo. R. Snowden, with the division of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, to your support at once. Put yourself in communication with him. Communicate with me further particulars.

ROBERT E. PATTISON, Governor.
Harrisburg, July 10, 1892.

This exciting episode in the history of the Homestead strike occasioned a feeling of relief in some quarters, while in others it no doubt created consternation. In any event, soldiers were better than Pinkertons, and since it must be one or the other, the strikers endeavored to reconcile themselves to the new situation, and, as was proven, were ready when the time came, to assist the troops to maintain order. The news of the call, which

was made at ten o'clock Sunday night, and which reached Homestead in due season, was discredited by some, believed by others, and verified by a few. The conservative leaders considered it unwise to disseminate the information immediately, but, as in every instance of the kind, the report soon reached the masses. The irresponsible element were free in their expressions of denouncement, and some threats came from that direction. Men like Hugh O'Donnell, President Weihe, John McLuckie, and others of like thinking, however, at once served notice on the lawless class (which are ever to be found mingling with a crowd, no matter how reputable, so that it is dense enough to admit of, and tolerate them,) that the militia would be well received and ably assisted in the work to be accomplished. John McLuckie, burgess of the borough of Homestead, stated emphatically that the people of that town were as anxious as any in the world to have a loyal and peaceable community.

Without delay the officers in command began exerting themselves to carry out the Governor's orders. The greatest activity prevailed wherever the headquarters of a brigade were located. Sub-orders were issued with rapidity, and obeyed with alacrity. Privates came forward with the determination of serving the constitution, no matter how marked might be their sympathies for one side or the other In fact, a large percentage of them did not attempt to disguise their feelings in the

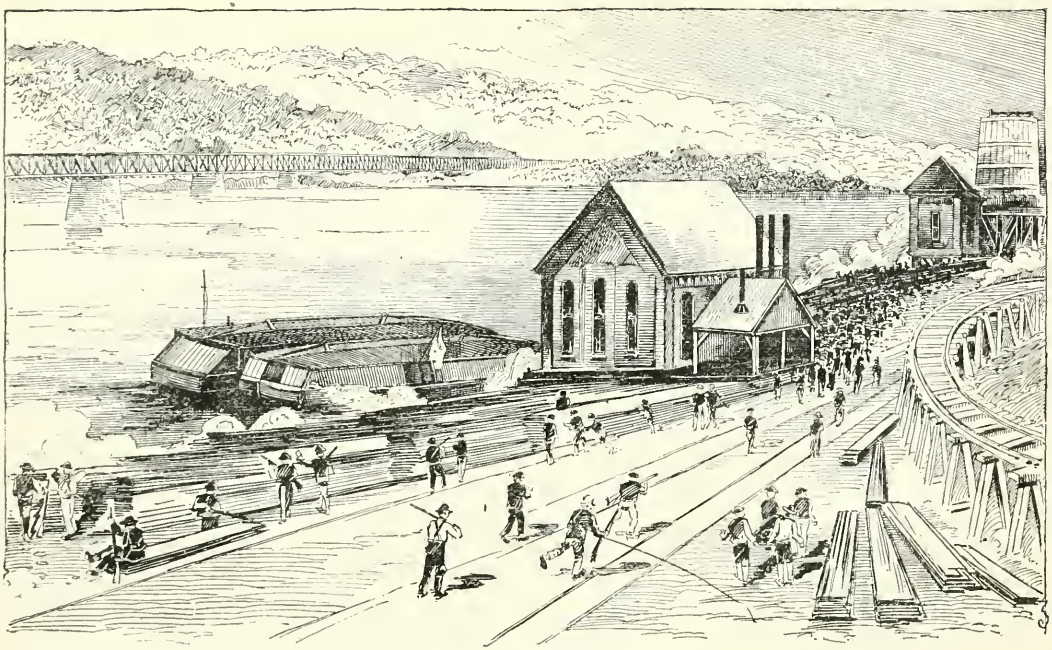
premises, but they waived their personality and responed as soldiers should respond.

In all, fifteen regiments of infantry, three troops of cavalry and three batteries were ordered into service. The very finest of repeating Springfield rifles were in possession of the infantry, six Gatling guns and several smoothbore cannons were available, and this formidable array presented what was properly considered an invulnerable army. Generals Snowden and Greenland left for the west without delay, taking good care to issue orders respecting the mobilization of troops at strategic points, and covering their own movements with that mystery and secresy supposed to be of inestimable value to full-fledged generals and successful campaigns.

In Pittsburg all was bustle and excitement. Superintendent of Police O'Mara took the extra precaution to carefully guard all the gun stores. And it is said that the good people of Philadelphia have not yet recovered from the shock occasioned by the excitement following the call—the dull routine of every-day life in that quiet city having imbued the residents with the conviction that nothing could change the even current of events there. By three o'clock Monday morning at least one-third of the Eighteenth Regiment had reported for duty at their armory on Diamond street, in Pittsburg, and there was no time lost in burnishing arms, selecting ammunition and gathering the paraphernalia for an active campaign. At Lewis-

town and Mt Gretna the boys were equally expeditious, so that it may be said the National Guard had begun their part in a manner pointing to a rapid solution of the troublesome problem. Inasmuch as eighty-five per cent of this army were said to be crack marksmen, and all were known to be well up in the tactics of warfare, no apprehensions were felt for them in the event of a conflict. It is to the credit of the nation that no necessity arose for the clashing of arms, and, now that the affair has passed into history, it is perfectly consistent with the facts to state in these pages that mature and well-balanced minds apprehended nothing more than a bloodless campaign. Still, there were many stirring incidents and sensational features that sprung up which will materially assist to enliven succeeding chapters.

The Advisory Committee, dissolved when the strike had assumed a certain attitude, and at a time when quick action was absolutely essential, was reorganized on Sunday. The thinking men realized that this committee was of vital importance to the intelligent conducting of the strike on a peaceful basis. Without delay, therefore, they got together, re-elected all the old officers, with Hugh O'Donnell as chairman, and proceeded to direct affairs as best they could. Methods and measures were soberly and seriously discussed, conclusions drawn as men of intelligence would be expected to do, and the machinery for controlling the situation actively started.



A FLAG OF TRUCE.

The day of the call had been observed in Homestead as became those who esteem Sunday. The churches were well attended and sermons freighted with pacific utterances were delivered. Protestant ministers and Catholic priests vied with each other in assisting to allay the turbulence of the past few days. The influence of the pulpit was probably never so pronounced. Men and women entered houses of worship with bitter thoughts of some of their fellow men. They left for their homes prepared to say that it is best to forgive. Each countenance bore evidences of a kindlier spirit than had existed since the first shot was fired four days ago. A few well-behaved strangers came and went and no one attempted to molest them. In the evening the women of the village arrayed themselves in their best garments and strolled leisurely about, while later on the Salvation Army contributed its nocturnal and energetic entertainment. At the evening religious services unusually large numbers were in attendance.

Guard and picket duty was inevitable under the circumstances. Every advantageous point, from which good views of the river and surrounding country could be obtained, was selected, and regularly arranged knots of pickets were distributed. Possibly no picket duty was ever more conscientiously or faithfully performed. Scouts were kept in the field continuously, and, as a natural sequence, the most alarming reports were brought in from time to time by these excited individuals. A man's

imagination, when he is employed in the arduous and presumably dangerous occupation of scouting, becomes vivid enough, and a little bunch of trees in the twilight, by degrees, will sometimes develop into a lively and numerous body of men intent upon accomplishing the destruction of those whose interests the scout has at heart. Thus, it is not so much a matter of wonder that at frequent intervals one or more of these watchers would rush into camp and breathlessly announce that "the woods are full of 'em!" By the term "full of 'em," it may as well be understood, was meant the Pinkertons. At this time, quite likely, the recollection of these announcements will strike some of the workers as partaking somewhat of the character of absurdity, but at that time they were serious enough.

No later than the night preceding the events related in this chapter, and at an hour when nearly all were recuperating expended energies in that blessed boon, sleep, shouts of "the Pinkertons! the Pinkertons!" aroused the community. Whistles and bells added to the general clamor, and there was another mighty rush for arms. It was not till the sun had spread the light of day over this broad land, revealing no enemy, that the nervous populace returned to their deserted homes and once more sought the rest so much needed. What wonderful determination to prevent the reappearance of Pinkerton guards in the borough of Homestead! During Sunday not the least interesting feature

of the day's proceedings were the discussions bearing upon arbitration. Numerous combinations were suggested, but none seemed to be satisfactory, and the shades of night approached with no definite agreement in sight. The Congressional Committee's threatened visit apparently concerned Homestead but a trifle, as it is a generally accepted theory that little or no good can come from a thing so useless as a Congressional Committee appointed to serve a useful purpose. Hence, the brainy men among the strikers were more amused than annoyed from the anticipated infliction; while those who failed to analyze a proposition carefully were simply exasperated for the time being, and then allowed the matter to pass out of their minds entirely.

CHAPTER XIII.

The arrival of the National Guard of Pennsylvania—Freedom of the city—Flags and drums—Troops vs Pinkertons—Warning the women—Hungarians' departure—Newspaper men anxious for the advent of the militia—Fearing outsiders—Good order demanded—Closing the saloons—Patronizing a brewery—The destination of the citizen soldiery is reached—On the field of action—The soldiers fatigued and intoxicated—Admirable discipline—Sobriety.

Monday, July 11, was a day of intense excitement, both at Homestead and Pittsburg. The news that Governor Pattison had ordered the entire National Guard of the State to Homestead had been flashed over the country by the telegraph wires, and in every town and hamlet it was feared that there would be further bloodshed on the banks of the Monongahela. Of course the principal interest in what was about to occur was felt in the State of Pennsylvania, every town and county of which sent some of its young citizens to preserve order at Homestead. In some towns the militiamen started out Sunday night, while by Monday morning every man had reported at the armory of his regiment, ready to be off.

In Pittsburg, the streets reminded the old residents of the days of '61. The soldier boys had discarded their civilian garments for the regalia of the State. The drum corps and fanfare of bugles enlivened the pedestrians' movements on the streets, while the sidewalks were packed with the gentler sex from the remotest suburbs. The passenger stations of all the railroads were crowded with those who had gathered to see the boys start, for it had been suspected that the movements of the troops would be secret. From the rich banker to the impecunious tramp there was a representative gathering never before witnessed. Pittsburg was truly cosmopolitan on that eventful day. The department of police had its hands full preventing an influx of tough characters, but its work was perfectly done. An espionage was put upon all whose suspicious actions entitled them to this questionable compliment. The objective point was Homestead.

The Advisory Committee recognized the necessity of throwing out the proper safeguards, and before the great body of strikers knew it, they had been influenced to assist the leaders in their commendable efforts to preserve order and eject dangerous men as well as disreputable women. Some took an emphatic stand against the militia, insisting that they should not receive civil treatment, but these persons were promptly whipped into line, and with such success that when the soldiers appeared, the fraternal feeling developed into proportions of conviviality.

Homestead at one time gave promise of entertaining a larger mass of adventurers than would have been good for the borough. The two hundred special officers were kept busy, and their attempts to discharge the functions of their new roles resulted in both good and bad. Several notorious women, and many light-fingered gentlemen were arrested, and so were many who had a right to enter the borough limits. Among the latter were several newspaper men. The improvised patrolmen arrested every man who bore a strange countenance, and many commercial travelers as well as merchants who had business in Homestead were forced not only to give an account of themselves, but in almost every instance compelled to return to Pittsburg. This general police surveillance was most unjust at times.

The metropolitan press of the entire country was thoroughly represented by the brightest writers and keenest newsgatherers in the world. Men were there in large numbers from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, St. Louis, Cincinnati, and other large cities, each of the New York papers being represented by at least four men, the best in their profession. These gentlemen did not manufacture news, but faithfully chronicled every event in its true light. Still the suspicious nature of the residents of Homestead asserted itself in many unpleasant ways, and every reporter was the subject of much unfavorable and uncomplimentary comment as he walked the streets, attending to his

business. Several were arrested at different times, and one was run out of town at midnight, and compelled to walk to Pittsburg. A bureau of press censorship was established and the copy of every correspondent subjected to the closest scrutiny before he was allowed to put it on the wire. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the hundred trained correspondents who were compelled to make their temporary abode in Homestead, did the best newspaper work ever known in the country, the efforts of the corps from the New York World, Herald, Sun and Recorder as well as those of the Pittsburg papers being particularly commendable both for literary effort as well as news accuracy. These gentlemen were on the qui vive during the last day of the control of the Advisory Board, the generally perturbed condition of town and people combining to keep them very busy.

A mass meeting of the citizens of Homestead was held on the day mentioned, which was addressed by Burgess McLuckie. Among other remarks he said:

"We are about to receive a visit from our friends the State militia. Some think their coming bodes danger. They are not dangerous as long as the dignity and honor of the Commonwealth are not insulted. We must arrange for a cordial reception. Every man, woman and child should receive them with open arms. In the interests of humanity I think we should do this."

John Doherty spoke in a similar strain, advising that the women and children be kept off the streets.

The impression gained ground that the militia had been called to prevent the landing of more Pinkertons. But upon his arrival, Major General Snowden dispelled the delusion in a single sentence. These were his words, and they broke more than one heart when they were uttered:

"THE GATES ARE OPEN. YOU MAY GO IN IF THE COMPANY PERMITS IT."

The Hungarians began to turn their backs upon Homestead, many of them packing up their little chattels and deserting their humble abodes. They were not afraid of strife,—they were sick of it. The unequal contest dawned upon their simple minds, so new fields of operation were sought. Ohio caught some of them, while the great manufacturing and mining centers of the country were proportionately increased in population as the wanderers reached desirable localities.

While these little incidents were occurring, preparations for the shipment of the soldiers progressed without interruption. Pittsburg, Philadelphia, Oil City, Clarion, Uniontown, Bedford, Greenville, Pottsville, Scranton, Greensburg, Titusville and Erie were contributing to swell the total of those who were to advance on the scene of strife to almost eight thousand men,—an impressing array of soldiery. General Snowden directed the movements of the National Guard with most profound and mysterious secrecy. The various Pittsburg regiments knew why they were called out, but none of the officers of rank less than that of

brigade commander knew where they would go. Those from Pittsburg were marched to the Union passenger station, crowded into cars, and were soon being whirled eastward at a rapid rate,—going away from Homestead, the ultimate destination. They rode to Radebaugh, where by midnight the entire army of the Monongahela was mobilized, preparatory to a short march upon Homestead, on the other side of the river, a few miles south and west. The great mass of young warriors had nothing to eat all night, and some did not taste food for thirty-six hours, their first hardship of war. The majority, in fact, fasted for a day and a night. The Pennsylvania Railroad had made admirable arrangements to transport the troops, although the secrecy of the purposes of General Snowden interfered in a measure with carrying out some essential details of railroading. Early on the morning of Tuesday, July 12, the trainloads of National Guards were moved to Braddock, where they were unloaded, and the men marched over to the other side of the river, arriving at Munhall at about nine o'clock.

They were about the most thoroughly fatigued lot of men ever seen, and as they marched up Shanty Hill, every visage showed the signs of hardship. This eminence reached, they rested; and, improvising tents of ponchos stretched on bayoneted rifles, they lay down to sleep in the broiling sun. The Fourth, Tenth and Fourteenth Regiments were bivouacked on the Swissvale hill,

just across the river. The impedimenta of the army was arriving rapidly, and while half the well disciplined regiments were at work pitching tents, the other half were placed on guard, the boroughs of Homestead and Munhall being under military control as early as half past nine. The three railroad stations were made permanent camps for picket guards, continuing thus for three months.

General Snowden took up permanent quarters in the schoolhouse, on the brow of the hill, where with his great field glasses he commanded a full view of the two boroughs, the entire mills, and the provisional brigade camp across the river. The cotton badges issued for newspaper men by the Advisory Committee were rendered void by his first general order, and special passes good at all hours were given to all bearing proper credentials, the correspondents heartily welcoming the new reign of the state. On account of the privation of so many hours, as fast as possible squads of the soldier boys were given leave to visit town and get something to eat. The Homesteaders welcomed them cordially, and by night at least five hundred of the lads in blue were in a state of alcoholic hilarity. They visited the saloons in large numbers, and the dealers in wet goods did a thriving trade. The brewery back of town was a special center of attraction, and had to be closed up for a time on account of the rushing business done. This sudden show of hospitality was checked, and after the day of the arrival of the National Guard, there was little or no drunkenness, the discipline being admirable.

CHAPTER XIV.

Headquarters—The Advisory Committee—Delivering the address of welcome—A chilly reception—Hugh O'Donnell's tact—Festivity—The Stars and Stripes—Fraternizing—Guard duty—"The gates are open, and you may enter if the company permits it"—A death knell—The ghost of insomnia—Shattered hopes—Fleeting shadows—Baskets of sandwiches—Depositing nickels—Beginning the inquest—Evidence of "Little Bill's" commander—The Pinkertons on the stand.

In accordance with the arrangements of the previous day, the appointed committee made ready to receive the militia commanders. However, the plans of General Snowden were so admirably executed that he had established his quarters before the town was aware of his presence. Later, a deputation of the Advisory Board repaired to the schoolhouse and paid their respects. Said Hugh O'Donnell:

"General Snowden, on behalf of the citizens of Homestead and the Advisory Board of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, we welcome the National Guard of the State of Pennsylvania to this borough, and proffer our assistance in maintaining order."

The General received this little oration very coldly, and replied :

"The State of Pennsylvania needs no help from the Amalgamated Association in preserving peace."

O'Donnell tried a new tack—welcoming the army in the capacity of a citizen of the State. General Snowden said curtly :

"As citizens of the Commonwealth, you did not assist Sheriff McCleary in maintaining order, did you ?"

O'Donnell was about to reply in the affirmative, when the sheriff stated emphatically that he had been able to reckon on no assistance from the strikers in preserving the peace.

"Then," said the leader of the delegation, "as citizens of the county of Allegheny we welcome you to Homestead."

This somewhat softened the chief functionary of the State militia, and he thanked the speaker and those who had accompanied him. His reception was so characteristically frigid that after a short conventional exchange of remarks on the altitude of the mercury the Amalgamated representation withdrew, leaving the major-general to his own reflections and the new duty of taking entire charge of Homestead.

The little borough made the day an occasion of festivity. Bands rendered popular airs and tunes of patriotic sentiments; the Stars and Stripes floated gracefully in the gentle breezes that now and then relieved the stifling atmosphere; hun-

dreds of men marched to and fro, keeping pace to the inspiring strains; women and children waved handkerchiefs; and the leaders participated in the general rejoicing.

Some, however, did not welcome the advent of the militia at first, but were soon brought to recognize the necessity of its presence. A display of rather ugly sentiment was directed against the soldiers by some of the Huns and their families who could only regard them in the light of invaders. Nevertheless the boys were well treated by the representative people, soon settling down to the regulation military life, filled with hard work, arduous guard duty, only enlivened by the visits of admiring friends or occasional trips to Pittsburg on short leaves of absence.

The crushing blow to the feelings of the men who had instituted what was designed to be a whole-souled reception, came with a force that well nigh disheartened even the most hopeful, and lent color to the suspicions of those who had all along doubted the object of the grand display of military power. Upon the heels of this incident a reporter put this query to General Snowden:

"General, is it intended to use your troops for the protection of non-union men?"

"The gates are open," was the significant response, "and you may enter if the company permits it."

That reply would admit of no misinterpretation. It meant that if the steel company desired to start

the mills with the assistance of non-union labor, the guns of the militia would be trained upon any body of men who offered resistance, and it was the beginning of the end of the great strike. To some it sounded a victory for capital, and many of the toilers felt they must sooner or later submit or witness the shedding of more blood. Of the latter they had been treated to quite a sufficiency.

Insomnia reigned supreme in Homestead, and its ghost stalked through the town, invading every household. The blow to the hopes of the strikers, in a measure left them inert and despairing. They realized their inability to cope successfully with the problem that had confronted them in so many different phases. Their dream of victory almost vanished. That one fatal sentence, uttered by the general whose pen and sword could blast and butcher, revealed the secrets of the future, and Homestead's men and women for the first time realized their helplessness. In this pitiful condition they looked into each others' eyes, yet found no consolation there.

Even the reaction which follows in the wake of despair furnished no cheering picture for the future. There was a slight chance for salvation—a mere shadow. The strikers could plead with the newcomers to return to their homes. "In union there is strength." How can labor demand its dues unless it is a unit? The fleeting shadow, like all shadows, in time disappeared.

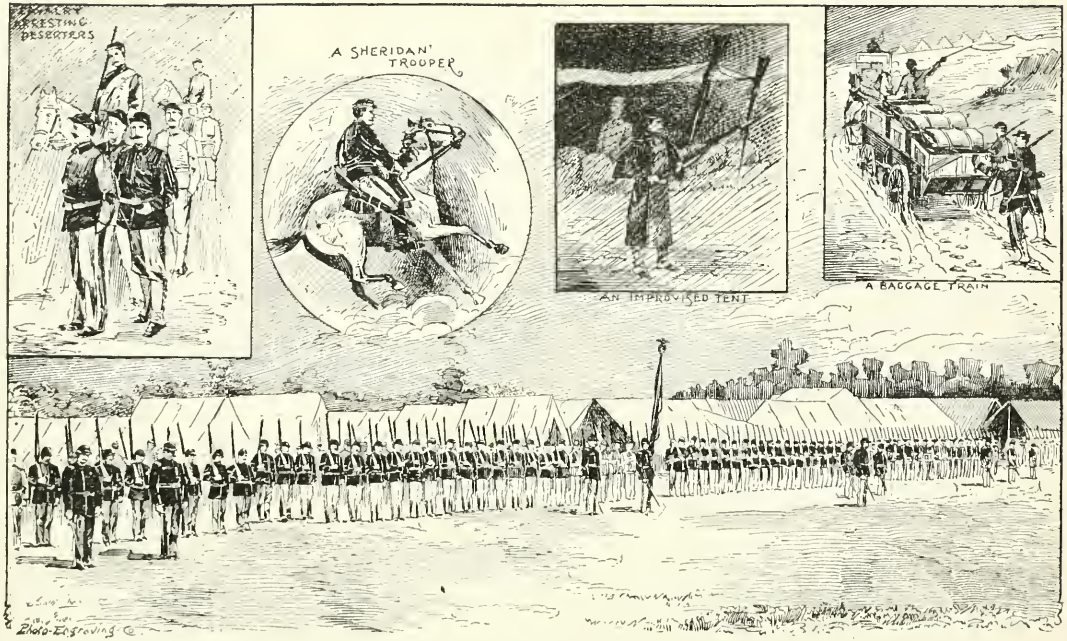
How fared the soldiers up on the hillsides? They grew hungry and restless. Feed a man well and it begets contentment. The boys were not very content. They began to cast about for provender. Presently they heard a shrill, piping voice, some two hundred yards down the hill:

"Ham sandwiches! Ham sandwiches! Five a-piece!"

There was the author tugging to get up the steep grade. He had a companion, and the two lads, possibly ten and twelve years of age, carried each a big basket filled with brown buns. The soldiers, in their haste to reach the tempting lunch, forgot they were uniformed for the field of battle, and that the childish intellect couldn't stand much of an onslaught. No doubt the soldiers did present an antagonistic appearance. At least, to the lads there must have been something terrible in the wild scramble above them. Dropping their burdens, they turned tail and scampered off toward Homestead. The soldiers reached the bits of bread and meat, and in a twinkling the baskets were empty. Then the pipe-voiced owners were looked after.

"Reckon I'll catch 'em and bring 'em back," said a Reading guard, and he was not long in doing so.

"Come, lads," kindly remarked a captain; "we wouldn't hurt you. See? the soldiers have left their nickels in your baskets;" and sure enough, for every sandwich taken, a nickel had been depos-



SOLDIER BOYS IN CAMP.

ited. The little Homesteaders made several trips to and from the town that day, and turned many an honest dollar by their transactions.

Coroner McDowell began taking evidence at three o'clock Tuesday afternoon, but the inquest was brief. Captain William B. Rodgers, who commanded the steamer Little Bill on its celebrated trip, testified that the steel company had employed him to transport the Pinkerton guards to Homestead, and that they had been transferred to the barges at Davis Island Dam between ten and eleven o'clock on the night of July 5. When within two miles of the place of destination, he heard the whistles and other indications of great activity and alarm. When the barges were landed the witness overheard Deputy Sheriff Gray tell Captain Heine not to shoot.

Captain John Kennedy, watchman on the barges, corroborated the testimony of Captain Rodgers, and stated that the guards were not informed where they were going. The witness did not see a white flag run up from the barges.

Captain C. B. Wishart, pilot of the Little Bill, Morris Rodgers, the engineer, Edward Wheeler, a deck hand, and John T. Cass, the mate, each made oath that the first shot came from the shore.

Joseph G. Hoffman, a Pinkerton guard, whose home was at Chicago, testified that when the attempt was first made to put out the gang-plank, his men were forced to desist and retreat on

account of a shower of stones and missiles hurled by the strikers. The second attempt to place the plank in position was more successful, and when the guards began to effect a landing, they were fired upon by the mill workers.

The inquest was then continued to July 26.

CHAPTER XV.

Handling non-unionists—Undercurrent feeling—Scouring the country—Receiving news from abroad—Martial law—Definition—No recognition—Right to arrest and sentence—A supreme edict—Undisputed power—Usurpation of authority—Rules for an army—Times of insurrection—Jurisdiction of courts—Abuse of authority—Invincible force—The "Little Bill" again—The sympathy strike—Convivial soldiers—Sober workmen—Orderly citizens—The millionaires' cavalry—Sunshine and storms—Piping for water—Insufferable heat—Troops in the mills.

A posse of non-union workmen arrived Wednesday. It was merely a handful of men—six in number—but was the advance guard. They were from the salt works, located out on the B. & O. road, and knew as much about making steel billets as they did about equity in law or the justice of a strike. They were there to make application for the position of one of the old men—no person supposed for an instant that six raw hands could take the place of more than one experienced worker. Argument, that weapon of civilization, was used effectively upon the pilgrims from the salt works, and they turned their faces towards the job they had but recently abandoned. This victory

was hailed as a good omen by the strikers, and they waited enthusiastically for other applicants to appear.

The steel company, it was said, had sent their agents into all parts of the East, South and North, and even into the great and boundless West, for men to take the places of those who rebelled against what they considered the tyranny of the rich corporation.

"Scouring the country for scabs! Soldiers protecting non-union labor! Taking away our bread to feed the unworthy!"

These were some of the sentiments expressed by those who had been at work so long and whose homes were within a stone's throw of the mills. An undercurrent of feeling prevailed which was not at all complimentary to sheriff, generals or army. There were mutterings like the angry sea waves that are lashed into foam by some invisible power. There were hard thoughts in the minds of Homestead's brawny men and bitter feelings in their hearts. The fate of non-union workers would have been settled without much controversy had this new element been left unprotected. This was but human nature asserting itself, and requires no excuse.

The leaders had not been sleeping by any means. Disheartened they may have been at the prospect, but they were made of sterner stuff than those who surrender without a struggle. The contest was now an intellectual one, and sharp wits were at work

SYLVESTER CRITCHLOW.

on both sides. Plans were laid to secure information from all points in this country and Europe respecting the departure of laboring men for Homestead. How gladly representatives of organizations in New York, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans and other cities co-operated with Hugh O'Donnell and his friends! It was that assistance which characterizes the actions of men fighting for a principle—which strengthens the purpose of those engaged in maintaining that principle until the goal is reached. A system was soon evolved and perfected for sending and receiving the desired information that never failed of its designs. Executive talent of a high order was enlisted in the cause. Men under the control of others with cast-iron instructions to suffer no interference were started for Homestead, but many of them never arrived. Agents of the Amalgamated Association invaded every depot and gained access to almost every train containing the new men, and persuaded large numbers of them to turn back. The appeals of the strikers were listened to and heeded, to a large extent, but eventually, capital claimed the victory.

Much has been said and written of the methods pursued by the military chiefs whose headquarters overlooked the army of soldiers and laborers. Was it martial law? That question has been asked thousands of times. There are those yet living who felt the baneful influences of martial law during the dark days of the Rebellion.

Ask any man who was unfortunate enough to have resided in New Orleans when General Butler became dictator of the Crescent city, and will he not tell you that the rules applied by General Snowden soon after his appearance at Homestead made him dictator of that helpless borough? If so, these rules constituted martial law. Let us define this force.

Martial law places the destinies of a community so inflicted at the mercy of him who declares it. Martial law recognizes no municipal authority if the man who establishes it so elects. Martial law gives its creator the right to arrest and sentence. Martial law is as supreme with him who says it shall exist as the powers of ancient monarchies were to punish without protest from any subject. Such, in brief, is martial law. Or, rather, does it bestow upon its originator, powers that no potentate of this age posseses.

In point of fact, martial law, as applied in this instance,—if it was applied,—was a usurpation of power wholly unjustifiable. Martial law really consists of rules ordained for the government of an army or military force. It is a law of war, as adopted by civilized belligerents for control of their respective armies and of those violating, in respect to such armies, the laws of war. It is distinguished from military law, martial law being for the conduct of war itself, while military law is imposed by a de facto civil government for the control of a country which is the seat of war. Admitting its

application to civil institutions, was there justification for declaring martial law at Homestead by the head of the army? And, if it was applied, did not its sponsor violate the laws of the Commonwealth? In time of insurrection martial law cannot be applied to citizens in States in which the courts are open and their processes unobstructed. For any abuse of authority the officer ordering and the person committing the act may be liable as trespassers. Martial law is built on no settled principles, but is entirely arbitrary in its decision. As applied to civilians, by an army of soldiers, it is in reality no law at all, but something indulged simply because the man who promulgates it has an invincible force at his command, while those who suffer its consequences are weak and helpless, and hence unable to protect themselves.

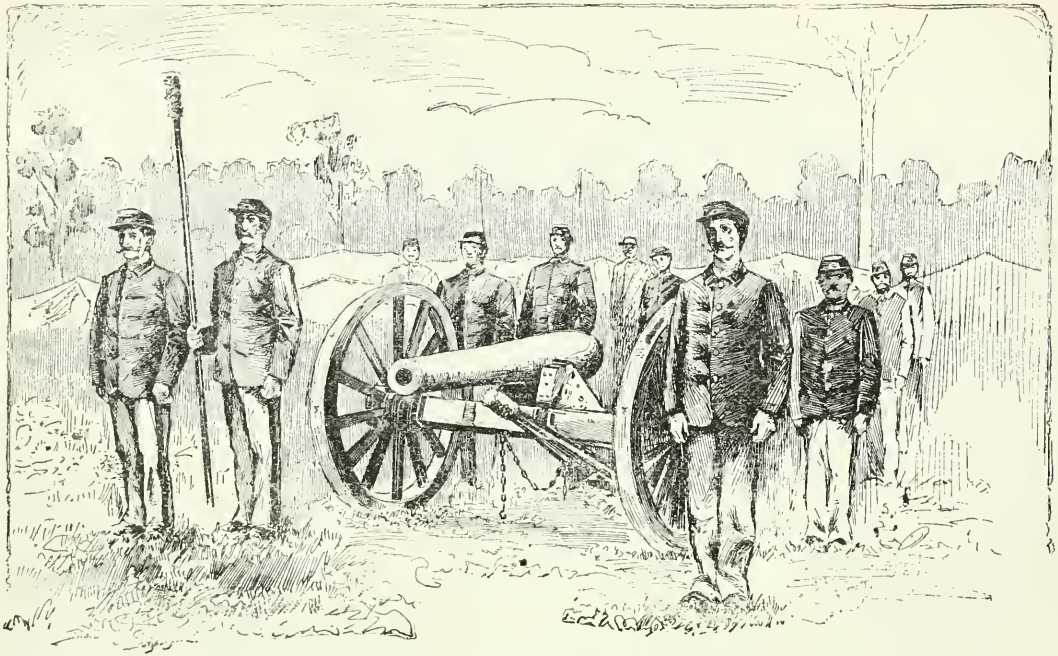
While in the abstract some of the strikers realized that the principles thus enunciated applied to their unhappy community, they were powerless to cast off its influences, and could do nothing to resent real or fancied wrongs. They must submit to the will of the alleged dictator. Even when the services of the steamer Little Bill were reemployed to ply between Pittsburg and the army for purposes of carrying the necessities of the hour, the strikers had to look upon the boat and bottle their wrath. They said it was adding insult to injury, which saying proved something of a relief to them. These were dark, dreary days for Home-

stead's men, and weary, wretched weeks for the women.

The threatened sympathy strike was crystalizing and the upper and lower Union mill hands were daily discussing the time when decisive action should be declared. Chairman O'Donnell and his lieutenants were receiving hundreds of letters and scores of telegrams every day, respecting the feelings of their brethren in other cities, and the movements of non-union men destined for the big mills so near at hand. Under all this pressure the strikers kept sober. The soldiers were enduring, as best they could, the heat of the sun, and the excitement of the strange and crude camp-life. Some were philosophical, while others fretted, and not a few permitted their convivial dispositions to lead them away from the paths of sobriety and rectitude. A few cases of suspended animation from the effects of the excessive heat occured. Otherwise the general health of the militia was good.

In the midst of it all there arrived the millionaires' cavalry of Philadelphia—a troop composed of wealthy and influential citizens of the good old town. They created fresh interest in the camp. On top of their arrival that Wednesday afternoon came a heavy wind and driving rain storm. Those who were fortunate enough to have tents sought their friendly shelter, while the untented troops were compelled to accept the blessings in disguise

without the means of ordinary protection. Some of the soldiers had been stationed within the mill, thus further fortifying the situation against the strikers and thereby convincing them that it would some time be useless for them to kick against the pricks. And, so, time wore on.



ARTILLERYMEN ON THE BRADDOCK SIDE.

CHAPTER XVI.

Better discipline—Calmly waiting—That Congressional inquiry—Drift of investigation—Steering clear of causes—After mere incidents—Complaints of the steel men—A lower tariff—Home competition—Millions in profits—Labor like a Roman gladiator—Its fight for wage scales—Historical facts—A Macedonian cry—Carnegie wages—Chicago wages—Discrepancies—Labor as merchandise—Startling rumors of arrest—The company's efforts—Congresssional investigation proceedings—Chairman Frick's evidence.

Better discipline among the soldiers naturally was enforced as the camp grew in age, and the town of Homestead settled down to a somewhat humdrum life. Its citizens waited patiently for anticipated events and watched calmly the proceedings of the Congressional investigation that had been making history since the beginning of the week.

In the meantime, at Pittsburg, the committee from Washington was daily furnishing the newspapers with several columns of queries and the witnesses a similar amount of matter in the form of answers. It was a noticeable fact that this investigation had been confined to the mere incidents

from the time the Pinkertons attempted to land at Homestead up to the point of investigation—i. e., up to the time of the arrival of the committee. It was presumed that after this momentous hour the occurrences that followed would be of no account —for the committee was at work. Ergo: Everything else must be of a slight consequence.

And, after all, the Congressional Committee performed its duties much in the same manner as when, upon that memorable occasion,

> "The King of France and forty thousand men
> Drew out their swords, and—put them up again."

Precisely why this investigation was principally devoted to the task of ascertaining who fired the first shot, who were wounded, who were killed, how many guns there were used in the battle, etc., etc., is one of the inscrutable conundrums that the human mind cannot answer. The causes of the lamentable tragedy had received but passing notice. Perhaps it is not in the province of such committees to seek the causes of an evil and recommend or suggest to the body appointing them a remedy.

The claims of the steel company that a reduction in wages was necessary in consequence of a lower tariff were not justified by the facts. Home competition, it was advanced, was another reason why a reduction in wages must be made. This was not in harmony with the accepted facts, and was not consistent with the financial showing of the corporation in the past. Here is a proposition that, under no circumstances, will fail of establishment:

Despite the changes in the tariff and the ascension to power of different national administrations of Government, the Carnegie interests increased in the matter of absolute profits to many millions of dollars. Labor, every recurring year, had to enter the arena like a Roman gladiator, and battle for the wage scale. Attacks upon this fortification were made annually, and the wage workers had employed every available defense to prevent its destruction. Encroachments upon its vital points had been made with varying success, and, as with the dripping of water upon a rock, time was the essential feature to wear it out completely. This, then, was a part of the history of the trouble, and it still remains one of the chief reasons why a book chronicling the events of that dreadful period has been written.

Statistics point with unerring precision to the fact that the profits on Bessemer specialties for 1891 ranged from 33 to 66 per cent. And yet, we find the manufacturers pleading poverty and resorting to every device that shrewd and able minds are capable of suggesting, to reduce the wage worker's income, and, incidentally, to cripple the organization that has protected him from becoming the intelligent slave of an unscrupulous master. Poverty for the manufacturer! Away with the Macedonian cry!

Blowers in the converting department of the Carnegie works, at the time in question, were receiving $1.05 per hundred tons. Blowers in the converting department of the Union Steel Com-

pany, at Chicago, during the same period, were receiving $2.34 per hundred tons. Why this difference—a difference of more than 100 per cent? Why had not the Congressional Committee seen fit, thus far, to get at the root of the evil? It would indeed seem that capital was and is intent upon treating labor as mere merchandise.

Quite likely the strikers were thinking of these matters while they were waiting for the non-union laborers to arrive, and as they witnessed the preparations, made step by step, to receive, protect and foster the newcomers, who can say they were not justified in dwelling upon the cruelty of Fate? To add to their general discomfiture it began to be whispered about that some of their number were to be prosecuted, and that warrants for their arrest might be issued at any time. From their standpoint of view it was hard to believe that such a course would be pursued; so, whenever the matter was mentioned to them they simply smiled and encouraged their friends to place no reliance upon the reports.

After duly discussing the situation in all its bearings, the Advisory Committee resolved to issue the following circular addressed to the trades unions of the United States:

"FELLOW WORKMEN:—We are constrained by the force of circumstances to lay before you a matter of vital importance, not alone to us, but one which threatens, if successful, to undermine every

trade organization in the United States, and reduce us to a system of serfdom which was the lot of our forefathers in the middle ages. We are engaged in a fight to the death, not only with a many time millionaire by the name of A. Carnegie, but also with those blood-thirsty thugs and hirelings, namely, the Pinkertons, who have invaded our peaceful homes and laid low a number of true-hearted trade unionists, made widows of their wives and orphans of their children, and they are left totally unprovided for. We have also a number of unskilled laborers who barely earned an existence while they had employment, and, now that is denied them, they are in want. Therefore, we appeal to our fellow unionists in this, our hour of need, for assistance, knowing full well that it will not be denied us. Help us, therefore, to gain a victory that will redound to the name of organized labor, and wipe out that blot upon civilization, namely, the Pinkerton murderers. Therefore, again we ask you to assist us financially in our hour of need, protect the widows and orphans, and receive their blessings.

"Send all donations to W. Weihe, President A. A. of I. & S. W., No. 514 Smithfield street, Pittsburg, Pa., and notify Thomas J. Crawford, box 196, Homestead, Pa., and George F. Ryland, box 281, Homestead, Pa., of all monies sent."

This circular was sent broadcast throughout the land and met with a most liberal response. The

warm-hearted laborer, not knowing when his own fireside might be desolated and his own little ones crying for bread, sent cheering words to the sorrowful homes at Homestead, and with the assurance of sympathy from many full hearts, came more substantial sympathy from not over-full pocket-books.

The Congressional investigation had been grinding away at the Monongahela Hotel. It consisted of W. C. Oates of Alabama, chairman; W. H. Bynum of Indiana; C. J. Boatner of Louisiana; E. B. Taylor of Ohio; and Case Broderick, of Kansas. The Carnegie side was represented by brilliant counsel, in the persons of Messrs Knox & Reed, while the Amalgamated Association depended for legal assistance upon that able and sturdy lawyer, W. J. Brennen. The Amalgamated Association had proper representation in President William Weihe, Hugh O'Donnell and several others.

When the committee called H. C. Frick to the front as the first witness there was breathless silence, and the witness was visibly affected in his new role. However, he was soon composed, and then he was asked why the services of the Pinkertons were sought before it became apparent that the sheriff had exhausted his resources. The witness replied by citing the disarming and routing of one hundred Pinkertons at the company's Duquesne works three years ago. He was satisfied

that the sheriff was willing and anxious to secure the requisite number of men to protect the Homestead works, but was unable to do so, and explained that the immense fence was constructed a month prior to the appointment of the Amalgamated Association Advisory Committee. The witness was asked to explain about the large number of port-holes that one or two Congressmen had noticed in the fence. The characteristic answer was, that "they were made for the purpose of looking out to see what might be on the outside." He also stated that he refused to send the Pinkertons to Homestead without the consent of the sheriff. The sheriff sent his chief deputy to Bellevue, and this deputy accompanied the Pinkertons to their destination.

Chairman Frick produced the pay roll of the 119-inch mill for the month of May, 1892, which contained the name of every man and boy employed in that department, the number of days he worked and the amount he received. The wages ranged all the way from $40 to $275 per month. He detailed the negotiations with the men on the new scale and the failure to agree. By this scale he said only 325 out of the entire 3800 men employed were affected. He stated that the proposed reductions were based on the decline in prices during the past three years and attributed the decline to over production and reduction in the tariff. He declined to state the cost of production per ton, or to tell the labor cost alone.

Mr Oates: "You state that after the sheriff failed, you employed the Pinkertons. Did you appeal to the Governor?"

Mr Frick: "No, sir; the experience of past years was that the sheriff was powerless. We concluded to employ our own watchmen, put them on our own property, and have them stay there to protect it. We hired them and agreed to pay them five dollars per day, and secured three hundred of them on June 24. We concluded it would be necessary to protect our own property and employ new men."

Mr Boatner: "Non-union men?"

Mr Frick: "We did not care whether they were union or non-union men, so we opened up correspondence with the Pinkerton agency, and negotiations were effected for their service."

The witness then stated that he did not join the sheriff in asking for troops till Sunday night, and then it was not in conjunction with the sheriff.

The committee had Mr Frick go over the matter of the sliding scale, the chief features of which appear in the early portions of this book, and which do not require a repetition at this time. Mr Frick was recalled at other times during the proceedings, as, in the opinion of the committee, occasion demanded his presence.

CHAPTER XVII.

Continuing the investigation—Mr Frick again on the stand—Captain Rodgers testifies—Story of the fatal fight—Efforts to get deputies—The call for the State troops—Deputies' duties—President Weihe's words for the workers—Vital questions—Organized capital *versus* organized labor—Hugh O'Donnell examined—Ex-President Roberts' reasons—Solution of the problem—Action of the Senate—Political interference—Majority and minority reports.

The work of the Congressional investigating committee grew more entertaining, and the room in which the examinations were carried on was uncomfortably crowded after the first day. Chairman Frick was again called to the stand, but beyond the admission that he "thought he had advised the arming of the Pinkertons," nothing of importance was elicited. The next witness called was Captain Rodgers, commander of the steamer Little Bill. In a few words he told his story, which was substantially as follows:

"On June 25, Mr Frick sent for me to arrange for the transportation of three hundred or more men, with the necessary supplies, to act as watchmen under the direction of the sheriff. I fitted up

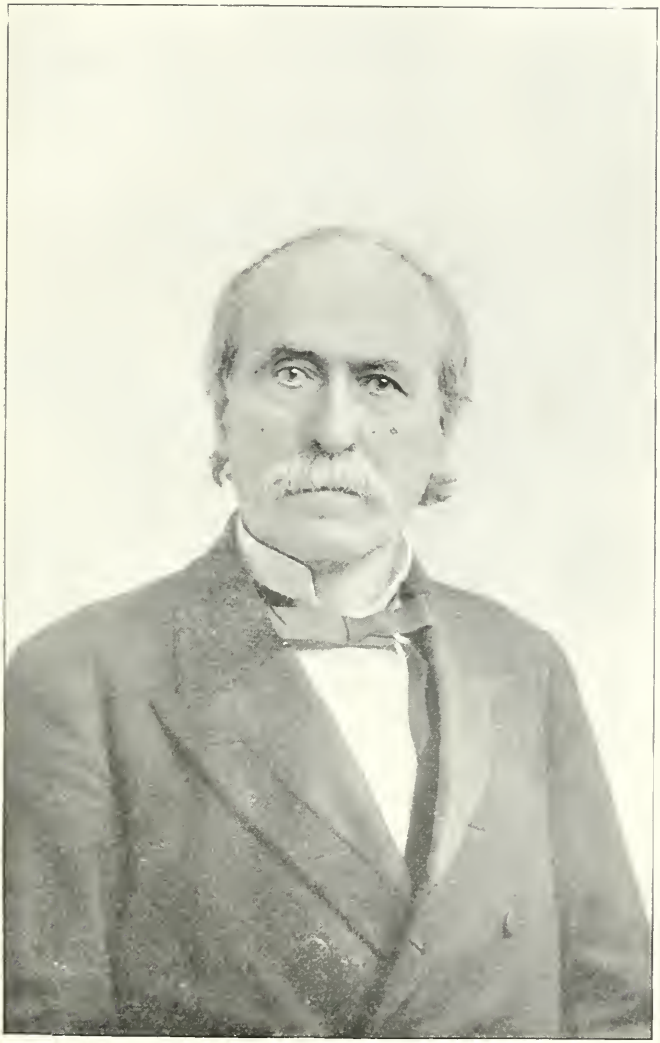
barges with berths and provisions for their accommodation. No, sir," in reply to a question from Judge Taylor, "the barges were not lined with steel, or given any other protection than the ordinary sheeting used in all barges. I did not know arms were on board till they were unpacked. They came in boxes like the provisions. On July 5, I received orders from Mr Frick to send boats to Davis Island Dam, where we met Jos. H. Gray, who presented a letter of introduction as deputy sheriff from Messrs Knox & Reed. But few of the Pinkertons seemed to realize the danger they were about to incur. Their chief ambition appeared to be to eat and sleep. Two-thirds of them were in bed asleep when the firing began."

Mr Broderick: "Was there any firing before you landed?"

Capt. Rodgers: "Yes, for twenty-five minutes; the men ran along the shore firing at the barges. The Pinkertons for the first time seemed to awake to the situation, and began to unpack their arms."

Sheriff McCleary was then called upon to tell what he knew of the strike, and what efforts he had made to quell it. He was very nervous and his answers were evasive in several instances.

He gave the story of his fruitless efforts to get men to serve as deputies to protect the mills, in detail, and said the reason it was impossible was because the men were afraid of being killed. He refused the offer of the locked-out men to give five hundred guards, because, he said, he was satisfied



THOMAS M. MARSHALL, SR.

that they would keep out everybody, including the owners. On July 4 he was notified by the company that he must protect the property, and, in consequence, sent twelve deputies to the works for that purpose, but they were driven away by the men.

Mr Oates: "What was your next move?"

Sheriff McCleary: "I issued four hundred notices for deputies, getting but twenty-three replies Thursday and twenty-nine on Friday. I did not consider it safe to go with such a small force, and notified Governor Pattison that I was unable to preserve order. He replied that he thought the civil powers had not been exhausted. I then waited until the Sunday after the battle, when I telegraphed again to the Governor, and he ordered out the troops. Messrs Knox & Reed informed me of their intention before they sent the three hundred Pinkertons up to the works, but I refused to deputize them, and advised against their being sent. Mr Knox then asked to have a deputy sent with the Pinkertons to assist in preserving the peace. I consented, and sent Colonel Gray, with instructions that if there was much opposition to their landing, he should order the captain and the Pinkertons to come away."

Mr Boatner: "What was Mr Gray sent with these men for?"

Sheriff McCleary: "To preserve the peace. He had no authority to deputize the men. He had authority to demand peace as a deputy sheriff. I

sent a request to President Weihe, of the Amalgamated Association, to call on me, which he did. I wanted to see if he could not end the trouble. While he was in my office I received a telegram that the Pinkertons had surrendered and were under arrest. I was informed that if I did not remove them, more lives would be lost."

Deputy Sheriff Samuel B. Cluley was sworn next and told of the deputies being refused admittance to the mills by the strikers. Captain Rodgers, on being recalled and questioned as to Colonel Gray's part in the affair, said :

"We all understood he was in charge and looked to him for orders."

President Weihe, of the Amalgamated Association, was the first witness sworn in in behalf of the workers. He explained to the committee the working of the "sliding scale" of '89 and pointed out the objectionable features of the new scale as prepared by the company. He stated that reductions averaging 18 per cent were proposed in nearly all departments. The men did not think these reductions justifiable. The date of expiration of the scale was another vital question to the men, as they could not work in the heated term. Other objections were that in some jobs men were reduced before they reached the scale. Under the new scale men were removed and other men asked to do the extra work without extra pay. Allowances, according to President Weihe, were always made for improvements, and where a job was done away

with no objections were made. He then related the conference with Mr Frick, stating that the firm had set a date after which no conference could be held. The object of the Amalgamated Association was to see that no advantage was taken of the members and to obtain fair remuneration for their labor.

Mr Taylor: "Why do the workmen think they are justified in taking possession of the mill?"

President Weihe: "I don't think there are any in the association who do. I think the men would have protected the mill."

Mr Taylor: "Are you willing that an arbitration bill, that would settle all questions of this character, should be passed by either the State or Congress?"

President Weihe: "I cannot answer for the association. The history of most arbitration has been against the workmen."

Congressman Boatner: "Organized capital claims the right to operate the mills under the law. Organized labor, as I understand it, claims the right to prevent them and to exercise tyranny. Now, could there be any valid objection to a tribunal which shall arbitrate?"

President Weihe: "I believe it will come to that."

Congressman Boatner: "Is it advisable to establish compulsory arbitration?"

President Weihe: "I do not know whether compulsory arbitration would be successful. The

State trade unions have a voluntary tribunal, but it has not worked. The trouble in estimating wages is that the firms will not show up what the exact cost of production is. If there was no minimum when the markets came to be slow the big firms could go into the markets and cut rates."

"The firm concedes the justice of a minimum," interrupted Mr Knox, one of Mr Carnegie's attorneys.

"The workmen believe," continued President Weihe, "that they understand their business better than any one, and think that they and the manufacturers should attend to their own business and agree on something."

"Yes," rejoined Mr Boatner, sarcastically; but you did not seem to want to agree till several had been killed."

The witness was asked if the association always carried out its contracts, and he replied that it did. Whereupon Chairman Oates asked if it was not true that, after signing the scale certain members of the association had notified the company that unless certain things were done in this controversy, they would quit work and thus break their contract. To which Mr Weihe responded:

"Well, I know some such thing was done."

President Weihe was followed by Hugh O'Donnell, chairman of the Advisory Committee, who had been active in restraining the locked-out men from violence. Chairman Oates, before beginning the examination, said:

"Mr O'Donnell, I do not assume that your conduct during this trouble has been such as to render you liable to prosecution, but during the examination you need not answer any question which you think may in any way incriminate you."

The witness quietly replied that he was not afraid of any question they might ask.

Chairman Oates: "Do you know what new machinery the company intends to put in?"

Chairman O'Donnell: "No, sir. There have been no improvements in the 119-inch plate mill since it was constructed. It stands to-day as it did on the day it was built."

Chairman Oates: "Was there any order in your lodges to quit work on account of the scale?"

The witness: "It was understood that we should do so."

Chairman O'Donnell described the differences that had arisen over the proposed change of the scale, and said that when the lock-out was declared the local lodges of the Amalgamated Association held a joint meeting and appointed members of an Advisory Committee, of which he was chosen chairman.

"We realized," said he, "that we had to deal with many irresponsible people, and a number of the most conservative men we had were appointed to guard property, and see that no damage was done to the company's belongings. The best men we had formed the Advisory Committee, and the guards were instructed to use moral suasion only."

His testimony further went to show that no effort had been made to overawe the sheriff or his deputies, but that these officers had decided of their own volition that it would be better for them not to remain in Homestead. He also made a brief statement of the great battle and surrender of the Pinkertons. Mr Frick was present and seemed ill at ease when certain questions were being asked.

Mr Oates asked Mr O'Donnell why the workingmen exhibit such antipathy to the Pinkertons. His reply was:

"On this occasion it was doubtless due to the fact that six of our number lay dead, shot by Pinkerton bullets."

Mr Oates: "Why were they met with resistance from the first?"

Chairman O'Donnell: "Because they were regarded as armed and unlawful invaders; as armed allies of the capitalists. The chief objection to their coming here was that we feared their presence was but a cover for the appearance of non-union men."

At this point the meeting adjourned until four o'clock, P. M., when Burgess McLuckie was called to the stand. He stated it as his belief that a gigantic conspiracy existed somewhere, aided and abetted by legislation, to deprive workingmen of their rights. He arraigned Governor McKinley, the Union Pacific railway and the Carnegie company, including Mr Frick, as being parties to the conspiracy. He also denounced the Pinkertons as

being a class of men owned and operated by unscrupulous capitalists.

"I don't know but what you are right," remarked Judge Taylor. "I have no sympathy for them myself."

Burgess McLuckie said he would like the committee to understand that the trouble at Homestead on July 6 was not between labor and capital. It was between two classes of employes. One class —the thugs—were employed with the money earned by the honest labor of the other.

William T. Roberts, ex-president of the Amalgamated Association, was next placed upon the stand. He said that Superintendent Potter stated to the conference committee that the reason for the reduction was that some of the men were making too much money. The Amalgamated committee had power to settle the differences, but after they had received this authority they never heard from Mr Potter until Mr Frick's ultimatum was presented.

In reply to Mr Boatner's questions, he said he felt sure that the matter could have been settled if the conference had been carried on. The objection to the termination of the scale in January was that from past experience, when the winter comes and the scale expires, manufacturers take advantage of the cold weather to starve their men into submission. The association was willing, so he stated, to make a three, five, or even a ten years' scale, and give the firm the privilege of making their repairs when they chose.

Congressman Boatner asked: "Are you in favor of compulsory arbitration?"

"I think," said Mr Roberts, "that it is perhaps the only solution of the problem."

Congressman Boatner: "You think if the manufacturers are protected to the extent of 75 or 100 per cent., you ought to get a share of it?"

Mr Roberts: "Yes, sir."

Congressman Boatner: "I think so, too."

Mr Bynum: "Where does the consumer come in? I suppose he gets left?"

Mr Roberts ended his testimony by stating that Mr Abbott, the former chairman of the Carnegie committee, said their quotations on steel billets were $2 lower than the market price, and insisted that the scale should be arranged on that basis.

Deputy Sheriff Gray, who escorted the Pinkertons up the river, declared emphatically that the first shot came from the shore, but on cross-examination was forced to admit that there was some shooting from the barges before the continuous firing from the shore began.

General Superintendent Potter, of the Homestead mills, gave a graphic description of the Pinkerton expedition, but failed to give any satisfaction in regard to the cost of products.

"The mills," said Mr Potter, "are the finest and most automatic in the world. I have visited France and England, and we are far ahead of all competitors. It costs us less to produce, and our men make more money. We thought ourselves

entitled to the advantages, but before the mill closed down we found ourselves hung in effigy. When I sent a man to take down the effigy of Mr Frick, the workmen turned the hose on him."

Austin Codfish, workman, testified in favor of the strikers in regard to the reductions of wages.

Captain Kennedy, watchman on the barge, said:

"The Pinkertons were a lot of cowards. They thought they were to have the authority given our policemen, and so boasted on the way up. Five or six of them were wounded in the first run, but not one died on the barge. Twelve in all were shot. I think Gray as big a coward as any of them."

Mr Frick, on being recalled, stated that the value of the plant was between $5,000,000 and $6,000,000, but that if they would run under the old rates they would become bankrupt.

The meeting adjourned Thursday, July 14, 1892. On the same date the Senate committee on contingent expenses introduced resolutions for investigating the various features of the strike and the part taken by the Pinkertons.

The Congressional investigation resulted in nothing. As might have been expected, politics crept into the matter, and majority and minority reports were made upon the return of the committee to Washington.

CHAPTER XVIII.

General Snowden's chapter—Well trained intellect—Also, well trained soldiery—A charitable view—A successful campaign—Familiarizing—Two great generals—That map—An extraordinary occurrence—Scholarly effort—Literary gem—Ingenious climaxes—"Marching resolutely through the streets"—"Open arms"—The Iams episode—Parting shots—"Cephalic Elephantiasis"—Squeezing the soldiers to death—An inspiring Scene—A generous soldier—A true gentleman—Squaring himself—Locating the blame—A similarity and a sight.

The feeling engendered against the officers of the militia, and especially against General Snowden, did not blind the strikers to the fact that superior military judgment had been exercised in seizing upon advantageous points, as well as in the distribution of the troops. Upon different occasions, when rumors were circulated respecting suspicious actions on the part of the people of Homestead, the soldiers were handled in a most expeditious manner; and behind it all was recognized the operation of a clear and well trained intellect. Impositions were practiced upon the military chieftains, no doubt, for there was scarcely a time when the defenceless strikers were in a position to create serious trouble, had they been so

disposed, and it seemed almost like mockery to make these displays of superiority in skill and numbers. More than that, they were unnecessary, and consequently unjust and useless. Their logic was not evident to anyone except to the person who displayed his authority and exhibited his power. Had the strikers declared their hostility, menaced the army, or threatened an attack of any kind, these maneuvers might have been excused, or even commended. Perhaps, however, the imagination of the war-like brains in command was of a most lively character, and the sudden rising of a molehill was at once magnified into a gigantic mountain. This is the charitable view to take at so late a day, and it is pleasanter to entertain that view than to think the commanding general or any of his subordinates could have been so cruel as to harrow up the souls of the disheartened men when it required all the latent energy they possessed to sustain them in an enterprise of such peaceful intent; and one which required the courage of heroes to execute on these lines.

No person questioned General Snowden's ability to conduct this one-sided campaign successfully; and after he had been assured of the hearty co-operation of the municipal authorities, as well as that of the Amalgamated Association, his success was doubly assured. His modesty, too, came out in bold relief, when, after six days of peace and quiet, he took a correspondent of one of the big New York dailies into his tent and said:

"I and my officers are now familiar with the streets of the borough. You see how the six streets lead from the apex of the hill on which the troops are encamped, diverging down to the river? If any conflict should arise, (and I hope for the workmen's sake there will not), it can be seen how easily they could be forced down into the river. That was the secret of Sheridan's success—in knowing the country."

This display of modesty materially assisted the correspondent in embellishing his report with the statement that "General Snowden has shown remarkable strategic ability in his movements so far. He has a topographical map of Homestead and vicinity, which he has been studying carefully, to familiarize himself with the country around the mills."

General Snowden, in his report to the adjutant general, of the Homestead affair, published long after the trouble was settled, says:

"On the night of the eleventh-twelfth (of July), I finally arranged to occupy Homestead. Fortunately, Lieutenant Colonel Elliott, having been in Pittsburg on military duty on the previous week, at my suggestion, went to the scene of disturbance, and with risk to personal injury, and with much skill and ingenuity, procured the necessary information, making valuable sketches, and supplying himself with maps."

The "topographical map," it seems, had been in the general's possession only one week prior to

the time he "finally arranged to occupy Homestead," and thus he had but one week and six days in which to "study carefully the map, to familiarize himself with the country around the mills." When one considers that General Snowden had to eat three meals on each of those thirteen days, it may be recorded as a most extraordinary occurrence that within this brief space of time he had studied the map so carefully as to be familiar with the country around the mills; or, to use his own words, he had succeeded "in knowing the country." "Sheridan's success — in knowing the country," was Snowden's watchword, and the living general flattered the memory of the dead one when he so condescendingly mentioned his own name in connection with that of America's illustrious son of war.

General Snowden's report, by the way, is a scholarly effort—a literary gem; and it entitles him to a proud position in the ranks of amateur *literati* of the country. The word "amateur" is not employed with any feeling of disrespect to the author. It is simply the first production from his pen that has attracted attention, and one that a more pretentious *literateur* might envy. His report, too, is quite graphic, and contains many brilliant paragraphs, with ingenious climaxes appearing at proper times. There are authors in the world who persist in the rather novel and paradoxical method of beginning a chapter with a climax, but General Snowden has seen fit to adhere to the good old orthodox style.

Fancy an officer of the militia in so thrilling a position as the one described by General Snowden, who says:

"Under instructions from the provost marshal, Major Kay marched resolutely through the streets [Homestead's streets], but, contrary to his expectation, met with no opposition or uncivil behavior."

One might have expected any amount of "opposition or uncivil behavior" from the strikers, for they were prepared to receive the soldiers according to instructions from their leaders—"with open arms," and other terrible methods. True, the newspapers had given publicity to the manner in which the strikers had enthusiastically decided to receive the soldiers, but General Snowden could not believe the newspapers. He says in his report, (referring to the Iams episode), that he had refrained from stating his position with reference to certain features, "for the obvious reasons that in view of the censure, in ignorance of the facts, put upon Lieutenant Colonel Streator by the newspapers." The ignorance of the press in one instance applies in all others in the estimation of individuals afflicted with *cephalic elephantiasis*. Therefore, who could expect General Snowden to believe the plebeian statement that the strikers had resolved to receive the soldiers "with open arms." Or, perhaps, he tortured this term into signifying that his soldiers would not only be received "with open arms," but that they (the soldiers) would be squeezed to death in the em-

braces that usually follow this interesting process. It stood him well in hand, under the circumstances, to exercise unusual precaution, and again his military sagacity was reflected with wonderful brilliancy. The inspiring sight created by Major Kay (obeying instructions) as he "marched resolutely through the streets," was a picture never to be obliterated from the minds of those who witnessed it.

The General avails himself of the opportunity to give Iams a farewell rap by observing that "Iams was punished according to the usages of war and not more severely than he deserved to be, or the circumstances required." This sentence ought to settle Iams and his friends. They will at least recognize the true spirit of a generous soldier in this parting shot, and those who read these pages may be constrained to wish for the ability to increase their admiration and respect for this brave and fearless militia commander.

In closing this chapter, and while upon this particular feature of the Iams matter, it may as well be stated that General Snowden, in his report, takes occasion to correct the erroneous impression that he ordered the punishment inflicted upon the unhappy man whose sufferings were something almost beyond belief. On page 80 of the report, General Snowden says:

"It was necessary to get him, Iams, out of the camp without delay, for fear that his presence there might lead to open marks of sympathy and perhaps open opposition to his confinement. Hence, I

ordered, as taken down at the time by Lieutenant-Colonel North, assistant adjutant-general, and by him endorsed on the paper which was returned: 'Discharge him in disgrace, drum him out of the camp and send him home.' While talking with Lieutenant Critchfield, acting aid-de-camp to Colonel Hawkins, who brought the communication across the river, I intimated that it was well in such cases to follow certain usages, mentioning them, and to expel Iams from his regiment with some ceremony. It seems that the Lieutenant, on reporting to the Colonel, expressed this intimation as an order, and coming as it did from an officer of his staff, he was justified in so considering it and carrying it out."

The world will be glad that General Snowden exonerates himself from this frightful charge, and places the blame where it belongs. In doing so he once more displays the instincts of a brave soldier and a true gentleman. The General's report is so like its author — entertaining, generous, noble, manly, frank, self-sacrificing—as to be well worth seeing.

H. C. FRICK.

CHAPTER XIX.

Courting arrest—Justice for others—Public opinion—Demonstrations of other workers—Painful silence—Curt talk—An ultimatum—The strike—Turning off the gas—Another strike—Gatherings—Militia faultlessly organized—Laden with wild rumors—The visit of a Bishop—Counseling moderation—Encouraging information—Buoyant hopes—The boycott as a weapon—A fatal blow—Good bye, Pinkerton system.

That the leaders whose arrest was reported to have been practically decided upon, were indifferent to the contemplated action, is plain, for they returned from Pittsburg to Homestead at the very time the officers of the law were said to have the warrants ready to serve. In an interview of July 13, Hugh O'Donnell said :

"Yes, I have been anticipating arrest for days, although I don't think anything will be done until after the Congressional Committee ceases its labors. Of course it is only a big bluff, and will amount to nothing. I do not deny that I saw the fight with the Pinkertons ; that I carried the flag of truce which ended the battle, and that I was badly hurt myself in trying to save the detectives from the vengeance of the mob. If this was criminal, then

I am ready to go to prison for my crime. Further than this I defy the detectives to prove any criminality on my part.

"To be candid, I hope I will be arrested. It will relieve me of the responsibility which has somehow been pushed upon me in this trouble, and I want to go into court and have this outrageous attack upon peaceful citizens by hired assassins investigated and righted, so that the whole world may know the truth. If I am guilty of inciting the riot, the sheriff knows where I live, and I am not going to leave my home. But I will not go to prison alone. I expect that Mr Frick and Mr Pinkerton will have some unpleasant questions to answer at the bar of justice.

"The people of this country must understand that we have not changed one particle of our position for all that has happened within the past ten days. We know that we are right; we know that we will defend ourselves to the limit of our rights, and we know that we have the public opinion of the country behind us."

This declaration found an echo in the hearts of all the leaders, and put to rest whatever fears their followers may have shown with reference to disastrous results attending the serving of warrants. The strikers, also, found a cheering hope in the approaching sympathetic demonstrations at other Carnegie works. The silence of Chairman Frick respecting the request of the Pittsburg and Beaver Falls employes, that the company reopen negotia-

tions with the Homestead strikers, could mean simply one thing, and could have but one result. The temper of the men had been greatly aggravated by the manner of Chairman Frick and the talk of Secretary Lovejoy. The latter said curtly:

"It (the question of reopening negotiations and the promise of the new strike) will have no effect whatever on the policy of the Carnegie Steel Company, nor will their request be granted. Our course has been set, and it will not be changed, no matter what the result. We will hold no more conferences with the Homestead mill workers, no matter what may occur. We already have said that, and it is final. If every man in our employ —and there are 16,000 of them—if every man in every department of every mill should refuse to work, it could not alter the case, nor would our determination to hold no more conferences be changed."

This ultimatum no doubt precipitated the sympathy strike, for at noon, July 14, the employes in the upper and lower Union mills quit work, and the gas was turned off in the furnaces. Three hours later the men in all departments were out and the mills were shut down. This was the most remarkable iron strike on record, the firm having signed the Amalgamated scale for the ensuing year. Superintendent Dillon shook hands with many of the men as they left, expressing regret at the course they had adopted. On the heels of this came word that the Beaver Falls mills had notified

the steel company of an intended sympathetic strike, also, and the defy of the steel company was not long in being returned.

These expected events logically caused no little discussion at Homestead. Crowds gathered in various portions of the town to talk about the matter, and naturally the largest gatherings appeared near headquarters on Eighth avenue. The faultless organization of the militia was never more apparent than upon this occasion. Without the slightest excitement troops suddenly appeared at points suited for controlling outbreaks, and so admirably were they handled that the town, the mills and surrounding country were placed under surveillance with remarkable rapidity If trouble had been brewing, there would have been no chance for it to assume tangible form. These movements indicated perfection so far as the army was concerned.

The crowds took cognizance of the multitude of threadbare rumors, as well as new and more startling ones, that had been passed from mouth to mouth as time wore on, and upon this particular day the air seemed laden with the wildest stories. Hundreds of non-union men were about to appear, so the reports ran; disaffection was spreading among the strikers, was a story often before started, but now presented stronger than ever; a tunnel under one of the principal thoroughfares, designed to effect connection between the town and works, so that men and dynamite could be installed and

placed within the big enclosure, was a fake sent out by some of the newspapers; a fearful explosive had just been discovered by a foreign chemist, who was on his way to Homestead to wreck the mills, was the sensation a Cincinnati paper sprung; negroes from Alabama were on their way to perform mill work, was a statement wired from some point in the East or South; a recent formation of Pinkerton guards, and the organization of a band of tough guards by another private detective concern was an old piece of gossip dished up by some clever liar whose plausibility was quite marked; hundreds of cots had been smuggled into the mills by some mysterious means, was an oft-repeated yarn with fresh attachments; Governor Pattison and staff either already were in camp, or soon would be there, had been circulated at stated intervals, and scores of other alarming conditions were rehearsed, until Homestead had about concluded that a shower of meteors, accompanied by general havoc and destruction, would be necessary to complete the list of thrilling episodes and harrowing calamities yet unmentioned.

Instead of these visitations, came the Right Reverend Bishop Fallows, of the Episcopal diocese of Chicago, and the good man attended a mass meeting being held that afternoon. The bishop said:

"I came to Homestead on my own account. I want to look into your faces and help you if I can. I counsel moderation on both sides, and advocate

arbitration. Labor has rights that should be respected by all men, and I hope to see your troubles disappear through the great avenue of arbitration. Of one thing the laboring people of the world may be sure—you have dealt the Pinkerton system a death blow!"

Although the bishop's remarks were continued, his reference to the disposition of this monstrous system created so much enthusiasm that no man's voice could have penetrated the cheers and applause. At this meeting a relief committee was formed to care for any who might need assistance, and word was received from the friends who had voluntarily stepped down and out from positions of remuneration at other Carnegie mills, that they were cheerful and hopeful, and that they would never surrender.

The Homestead leaders, too, had received further encouraging information from abroad. Carpenters, stonemasons and bricklayers employed on some of the big buildings throughout the country had quit work because the owners of these buildings persisted in using iron and steel manufactured by the Carnegie company.

"This is the kind of assistance we need," exclaimed one of the orators of the meeting. "We propose to fight our battles on legitimate lines. The Pinkerton episode put us in the wrong light before the country. It was never our intention to countenance lawlessness, and we shall not begin to do so now. The great weapon for us from this

time on is the boycott. We shall not attack non-union men, but argue with them. We know the steel company cannot operate their mills without us. Let them bring the non-union men along, but keep out the Pinkertons!"

That the Pinkertons would not be permitted to return was evident, and that the Pinkerton system was to be wiped out of existence was apparent. Congress had just referred to the judiciary committee a bill prohibiting the employment of "guards" by railroads and other corporations, under penalty of heavy fines and application of severe punishment. The cause of the strikers was looking up, and they felt correspondingly elated.

CHAPTER XX.

Moments of suspense—Furnaces fired—Reporting for duty—Issuing an ultimatum—Inducements to strikers—Preparing for a siege—Homes within the walls—Encouragement from many sources—Boycotting Carnegie steel—Extending the association—Another Pinkerton victim—A pathetic story—Sympathy meetings—Woman's influence—Importing European labor—O'Donnell's departure—To arrest the leaders—Warrants issued.

The days continued to be fraught with interest. Among the thousands of wild rumors filling the air were many truths, and the strikers were faced with conditions that tried men's souls and made helpless women mourn.

On the morning of July 16 the people of Homestead, for the first time since the day the big strike was declared on, saw smoke and steam issuing from the Carnegie mills. The statement was rife among the people that a large number of non-union men had gained admittance to the works, but it was impossible to verify this report, as the military lines had been extended and the works surrounded with armed guards but a few feet apart. A prominent and well informed leader among the men explained the smoke from the mills by saying :

"The cupolas are filled with dolomite, and are lighted to save the burned stone in them. A few furnaces are fired also; this being done to save them from dampness. There are no men in the works but the regular watchmen and a few firemen. They have never been denied admittance, as our people thoroughly understand their business there."

Despite this statement, the fact remains that all of the foremen, assistant foremen and all heads of departments reported for duty on this day. These men were not members of the Amalgamated Association, and had been merely lookers-on in the strike. It was also stated that two thousand unskilled laborers among the strikers were prepared to report at the works on the following Monday, with the promise of receiving their old positions. This was confirmed by the posting of the following circular at all the entrances to the mills:

THE CARNEGIE STEEL COMPANY
(Limited).
PITTSBURG, PA., July 16, 1892.

NOTICE.

Individual applications for employment at the Homestead steel works will be received by the general superintendent either in person or by letter, until 6 P. M., Thursday, July 21, 1892. It is our desire to retain in our service all of our old employes whose past record is satisfactory, and who did not take part in the attempts which have

been made to interfere with our rights to manage our business. Such of our old employes as do not apply by the time above named will be considered as having no desire to re-enter our employment, and the positions which they have held will be given to other men, and those first applying will have the choice of unfilled positions for which they are suitable.

THE CARNEGIE STEEL COMPANY (Limited),
H. C. FRICK, Chairman.

While this circular must be regarded as just such an ultimatum as Mr Frick issued when he told the men before the strike that June 25 was the last day open to them for conference on the adjustment of the wage scale, it also contained several inducements to the weaker-kneed laborers to return to work. Other and more private methods were also resorted to, to break into the ranks of the strikers.

Within the works, preparations were made for a siege. Cots, blankets, camp utensils and provisions were stored. Advertisements for bids for furnishing materials and building one hundred houses within the enclosure were published by the company. These were to protect the non-union men, even in their homes. The town was gradually filling up with non-union laborers, and the intention seemed to be to start the mills in the same quiet, resistless way as characterized the distributing of military guards about the town and works. Grave apprehensions began to be felt that

affairs were coming to a focus, and to some it appeared that it would soon be a choice between the Amalgamated Association and employment.

The leading spirits among the laborers were not visibly cast down, however, and they seemed more than ever convined that the serious part of the fight had but just begun. The strike in the Lawrenceville mills and the refusal of carpenters to work on buildings where Carnegie steel was used, kept their spirits up. Help of this nature was all they asked, and the boycott seemed about to prove their most effective weapon. It was resolved to offer no harm to non-union men, but to trust to moral suasion, entirely, to prevent the mills from being started.

Mr Lovejoy, secretary of the company, stated with the greatest confidence that the mills would be running by July 23, with enough men to run them satisfactorily.

Sunday found an eager and curious crowd of visitors in Homestead, trying to see the participants in the great battle and endeavoring to gain entrance to the mills, which were more closely guarded than ever. There was little to be seen that would feed the morbid side of human nature. It was only in the hearts of the quiet looking men and women, found at every turn, that the tragedy was written, and they did not carry their hearts on their sleeves, for the idle, careless, chattering throng of human daws to peck at.

George H. Rutter, who had lain a patient and cheerful sufferer in the Homeopathic Hospital, died on the morning of this day, eleven days after the Pinkerton bullet entered his thigh. The news of his death, although expected, added to the gloomy situation. And the news that William Fay, the Salvation Army color-bearer, who had a Pinkerton bullet in his chest, was rapidly sinking, did not tend to create a more cheerful feeling, nor aid to dispel the bitter enmity felt towards the band of hired assassins who were held responsible by the mourners in the once happy homes.

To cheer the locked-out men came the news of a meeting of sympathy, held by the machinists and laborers in the Opera House. The sentiment was unanimous and these resolutions were adopted :

We, the employes of the mechanical department and day laborers of the Carnegie steel works of Homestead, in meeting assembled, do offer the following as our view in regard to the labor troubles existing at present :

Resolved, That we are in sympathy with the Amalgamated Association and are willing to remain with them to the end.

Resolved, That we consider it an injustice to the mechanical department and day laborers and an insult to their manhood to ask them to work under guard, believing that in this land of the free all things should be free.

A rally of about six hundred men was also held in the open air at Duquesne Grove. A number of

stirring speeches were made and resolutions of sympathy with the strikers were passed. Many of those present handed in their names to Mr Carney, Vice-President of the Amalgamated Association, as desirous of becoming members of the order.

A general sentiment prevailed that a peaceful solution of the difficulty would be reached. The loss of life that attended the one fierce struggle for ascendancy had filled the honest and industrious Homesteaders with horror and they preferred to surrender their rights rather than prevail at such a fearful cost. This feeling was in a large measure due to the women of the little city, who proved themselves more redoubtable in the eyes of the strikers than the militia, for when the overpowering forces began to gather about the devoted band of fathers and brothers, husbands and lovers, the Homestead women began to assert themselves. Their finer instincts foresaw the only possible end of an uprising, and they strove to avert further violence and bloodshed.

Women seldom make good patriots when patriotism involves the sacrifice of those they love, and that stern Roman mother's injunction to her sons, going into battle, to return "with their shields or on them," finds but few prototypes either in the past or present. Ever zealous to protect the honor of those they love, the women of Homestead were the first to see that a change of base was the strikers' only salvation. With the advent of the

blue-coated soldiery they concluded that there had been enough of unequal fighting.

While this feeling was widespread, the strikers met with much to encourage them to maintain their position, as well as to keep alive their memory of the awful outcome of their resistance against the assertion of authority that they knew to be unjust and felt to be uncalled for and unreasonable. Were they inclined to forget, the sad picture of Kate Regan trudging over every day from Swissvale in search of her missing husband, would have served to keep their resentment alive as to the means employed to subdue them. Poor Regan, who was a striker, was in a row boat when the Little Bill, with its load of Pinkertons, steamed up. Before he could reach the shore the firing began, and when the smoke cleared away the boat was seen drifting idly down the stream, empty. His friends thought he was either shot or jumped overboard to escape the bullets, and that it was hardly possible that he escaped alive. His faithful wife, however, believed that he still lived, and that some day he would be waiting for her when she called at the Amalgamated Association headquarters.

At this period, a fear prevailed among the workmen that European laborers would be brought over to take the place of the locked-out men. This rumor created a feeling of uneasiness. The men felt that foreigners would not appreciate and sympathize with the principle involved as would Americans and those who had been in this country

long enough to understand that the strike was in the interests of labor, and that the Amalgamated Association was formed with that end in view. Monday was anxiously awaited ; for, while the mill owners asserted that skilled mill workers were plentiful, the men felt equally assured that skilled laborers were not only not available in large numbers but that they were all, heart and soul, with the strikers.

Late in the evening a mild sensation was caused by the sudden and mysterious departure of Hugh O'Donnell for the East. No one seemed aware of the purpose of this trip, but it was generally understood that the mission was an important one, and one having bearing on the Homestead situation. This, with the knowledge that warrants had been issued for the arrest of McLuckie, O'Donnell, Critchlow, Flaherty, Burkett, Flannigan and Ross, kept alive an undercurrent of excitement in the apparently quiet little town, that to the visitor had but one unusual feature distinguishing it from other peaceful towns—the presence of the militia.

Justice, always blind, had shown herself deaf as well, to the appeals of the toilers, and while the men whose names were on the warrants were without fear of the outcome, it was felt that the situation became every hour more and more complicated.

CHAPTER XXI.

Burgess McLuckie surrenders—Trio of constables—The flower of the army—Deplorable history—A common sight—Revenge—Mosaic law—Morbid curiosity—Perverse human nature—Arranging for new arrests—The law on riot—Secretary Lovejoy's serenity—Hills and valleys—Millionaires and tramps—Sunshine and rain—Perfection and imperfection—Fortitude—Failures—Exalted and humble positions—The battle of life.

Burgess McLuckie, in a quiet, unostentatious manner, surrendered to the authorities of Allegheny County, July 18. He became satisfied from information of a reliable nature that a warrant for his arrest had been issued, as well as for the arrest of six of his companions, and as he happened to be in Pittsburg at the time, he saved Constables Weber, Morris and Price the trouble of reading the document which was to place him behind the bars. The magnificent display of military force, which was again thrust upon the notice of Homesteaders when the constables at the head of the flower of the army, were seeking for the indicted men, in Burgess McLuckie's case, was a grand fizzle. How essential two companies of soldiers were to compass so ordinary an event, has never been fully appreciated by

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those who understood the situation. It was in a line with almost every move made after martial law had been illegally inflicted. Cannons were loaded and trained so as to sweep the principal streets of Homestead. The two companies selected as an escort for the constables were given twenty rounds of ammunition. Wherefore? Let the sworded oracles in blue answer! Citizens—who in the heat of rage, had defended themselves against Pinkerton Guards, armed to the teeth, and threats of bloodshed uttered with every breath—citizens of Homestead must witness the humiliating spectacle of a force of soldiery behind three civil officers in quest of a half dozen men wanted upon indictments that had been found by the same jury which subsequently indicted the leaders of an opposing faction! These citizens of an American city had surrendered their firearms and offered their services to aid in preventing disturbances at that! They had not enough weapons in their possession to start a shooting gallery, and yet all the ostentatious exhibitions of an army coping with desperate revolutionists were dramatically introduced when there was positively no excuse for it! It was either an instance of cowardice or bombast, and deserved a rebuke commensurate with the brutality of the occasion! One plucky, level-headed Pittsburg policeman would have made the arrests without an atom of difficulty!

Even after the departure of the trio of officers, (who, by the way, returned to Pittsburg empty-

handed, because McLuckie, O'Donnell, Critchlow, Flaherty, Burkett, Flannigan and Ross did not happen to be at home), it is said "the military authorities feared trouble, and at once began making preparations to prevent an outbreak. An order was sent to the cavalry battalion," the reports read, "which resulted in that admirable organization being on the streets of Homestead within a few minutes, and at the same time there was a good deal of hustling around the quarters of Battery B. The provost guard was also strengthened. From division headquarters General Snowden watched through a field-glass the movements of the posse, and had there been the slightest disturbance two regiments would have been thrown into the town almost instantly." This is history, but it is deplorable history!

Strange as it appeared to the man on Shanty Hill who "watched through the field-glass the movements of the posse," there was no trouble. Not one person in a thousand knew why that infantry detachment was marching up and down the streets—the sight had become so common. The cavalry battalion was supposed to be exercising its horses, and no one, not in the secret, imagined there was the least significance in the preparations made by the artillery. The profound secret leaked out, however, and then the Homesteaders cried for "Revenge!" But it was not the sort of revenge that breathlessly had been anticipated on Shanty Hill. It was the revenge that modern law could

and would afford, and the strikers demanded the fulfillment of the old Mosaic law, "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." The Advisory Committee held a meeting at which the subject was discussed at great length and with savage determination. The results of that meeting appeared later on.

The operation of legal machinery from this time was observed with strict attention by all parties. The office of Alderman McMasters, in Pittsburg, at an early hour of the morning following the surrender of Burgess McLuckie, was besieged by a large crowd whose morbid desire to see the men in the grasp of the law was uncontrollable. They had seen these men, probably, scores of times, but they were then ordinary, free citizens. As prisoners they would have a halo of interest around and about them that would convert them into most attractive subjects for inspection. The lines of the human face that yesterday were known to be marks of anxiety, to-day would be recognized as evidences of guilt. This is perverse human nature. These people waited for hours to see Hugh O'Donnell and his friends march boldly into the presence of the magistrate and surrender themselves; or, what would have conformed more to their notions of legal etiquette, they waited in vain for the officers of the law to appear with the prisoners whose arrests might have been accomplished "with risk of personal injury and with much skill and ingenuity." The hearing of the question of bail for Burgess

McLuckie, in the meantime, had been deferred until the following day by Judge Magee, and thus more curiosity seekers were disappointed.

Mr Brennen, counsel of the strikers, said he doubted if the informations against Frick, Lovejoy, the Pinkertons and one or two others would be prepared upon that day, as the papers would have to be drawn with great care. These prosecutions had been decided upon at the meeting of the Advisory Committee the preceding night, and the matter of securing competent bondsmen for the release of the strikers, when arrested, was also discussed. The object was, if the decisions of the courts were favorable, to prevent the inconvenience of the men lying in jail. Mr Brennen and his associates burned the midnight oil without stint in their efforts to familiarize themselves with the State laws relative to riot.

Secretary Lovejoy, who seemed to be the only one of the steel company inclined to yield to the importunities of reporters, said :

"We have no fears of any arrests or informations, and do not believe the strikers can be so ill advised as to take this step. They were the trespassers and aggressors, and are in no position to charge any crime on the company or its agents. It is, of course, possible that we or some of us may be arrested."

This serene confidence was not shared to any alarming extent by the public, who not only recognized the possibility but foresaw the probability

of arrests in the steel company's family circle of officials. Mr Lovejoy's failure to admit the proposition that where there is a valley there must be two hills, was consistent with his position throughout. He viewed the whole affair from the standpoint of the employer, and convinced himself that the only mistakes so far made could be balanced to the credit of the men at Homestead. Mr Lovejoy is one of those unfortunate individuals who fail to keep in touch with the people. He is not the kind of a philosopher who will confess that the world can no more have millionaires without tramps than it can have rain without sunshine. He has yet to learn that he who becomes perfect in his own estimation is in reality most imperfect; or, having learned it, he must attain the virtue of confessing it. If he possesses not the knowledge, that is his misfortune. If he has it, he errs grievously in refusing to display that fortitude so essential to fair-minded and manly action. He may possess some business qualifications, but he would make a wretched failure on the judicial tripod, and everything being equal, his career as a great general would be neither brilliant nor of long duration, for he would fail to accord to the general of opposing forces the credit that one shrewd commander gives another. There are many men in this world whose struggles for existence would make sad material for history if they were suddenly relieved of the powers and emoluments they now enjoy. They would find the battle of life so strange and new and incompre-

hensible that their success might be summed up in that diametrical term — utter failure. They would discover that the methods suitable for exalted positions would operate disastrously if applied to humbler ones.

CHAPTER XXII.

Staunch and true—Unresponsible—Detectives again—Blood suckers —Perfect organization—The noon hour whistle—Smoke and steam—A curtailed force—The Governor and staff—Amalgamating at Duquesne—An olive branch—Chairman Frick's refusal—What other men would have done—More informations—The militia a fixture—McLuckie's bail—An ovation—O'Donnell's mission—Men in the mills—Wage scale conference—Strikers in jail—Missing laborers—Crushing out anarchism—The Governor's refusal.

There was not a break in the ranks when the mills were thrown open Monday morning in response to the steel company's invitations to the men to return to their former posts. Perhaps Chairman Frick did not expect there would be a break. If so, he was not disappointed. The Pittsburg wing of the Amalgamated Association also proved impregnable, while the Beaver Falls men emulated the examples of their brethren at both places. Duquesne workers were quietly but firmly approaching the point of crystalizing into an association, but they feared the visitations of displeasure from the steel company, and consequently kept their movements under cover. There was a fine

prospect of concerted action all along the line, and every hour carried with it a ray of hope. Sunday's meeting at Homestead had been prolific of great good, for 1,500 men stood up and resolved not to go back to their old jobs—nor new ones—until their return recorded a victory for the association to which they had so far proved loyal.

Smoke and steam issued from some of the stacks all day Monday, and Tuesday black volumes of smoke poured from a score of the big chimneys. At the noon hour steam whistles sent their shrill notes into every corner of the town—and, into the heart of every man, woman and child there was a little pain that grew and expanded as the shrill notes lengthened out and continued for some moments. The whistles were being blown, doubtless, for this very purpose, as there was no practical occasion for the noise. The small force on the inside could have been notified with a tin whistle that it was time to satisfy the inner man.

Seventeen guns were fired a short time thereafter in honor of Governor Pattison and staff, whose visit had been anticipated for several days. The Governor reviewed the troops, listened respectfully to the Advisory Committee who asked him to withdraw the militia, quietly notified them that the request could not and would not be granted, visited the officers in their tents, remained a few days in one of the steel company's cottages, received all visitors courteously, expressed his satisfaction of the situation, and then went back to Harrisburg.

General Snowden soon after announced that the soldiers would be kept in camp until either the steel company or the strikers gave in. Homestead people, in their interposition, said they did not object to the militia on general principles, but that their presence would admit of no missionary work among the new or non-union workmen. While discussing these points, Vice President Carney, of the Amalgamated Association, reiterated a statement he had made to the Duquesne workmen, viz:

"If Chairman Frick had seen fit to compromise on the basis we offered, there would have been no trouble. We proposed to substitute June 30 for December 31 as the day of expiration of the agreement, but the steel company would not listen to us. We would have gone to work even at a decided reduction in wages. This is the key-note to all the difficulty, and now, upon this date, Secretary Lovejoy notifies us that he has filed fifteen more informations. If you do not call it rough treatment all the way through I should like another definition for it."

If these statements are true, there are thousands of disinterested people who will say that no criticism of Mr Frick can be too severe; for, had he waived the point, the sad circumstances rehearsed in these pages never would have been written. It is right and proper for a man to establish a policy and pursue it, when that policy does not jeopardize human life; but when a reasonable concession can be made without wounding a man's vanity or ma-

terially affecting his interests, it is just that he should meet the opposition part way. There is no denying that nothing succeeds like success, and no one will dispute the fact that Mr Frick fought openly and above board, but there are men who would have handled the Homestead matter in a far different manner. They would have avoided the conflict and left a better feeling prevailing between the employers and employees. Perhaps they would not have crushed organized labor so effectually, but they would have prevented the clash that came. They would have been more politic, but the inhabitants of this nation would not have learned how the laws make it possible for a corporation to employ means of carrying a point against the masses. Taking this view of the situation, it may be that Chairman Frick's unyielding nature has proven, or will prove, of inestimable value to our country. In time legislation will be so shaped as to modify the powers of corporations and give to the masses the influence to which they are entitled. Legislation must be effected to change the situation so that money may not continue to be the feudal power, and the strongest man continue to be the one who can make the most money. Great riches are conducive to great poverty, and poverty causes more evil than anything else. Comfortable circumstances will nourish the virtues, and comfortable circumstances among the people cannot exist where a few men make and hord the vast fortunes.

It is no wonder that the intelligent vice president of the Amalgamated Association denounced the treatment as being rough, and that he should have bitter words to utter.

Happier thoughts were to prevail. Judge Magee had fixed Burgess McLuckie's bail at $10,000 and had stated that the prisoner could not be held on a higher charge than murder in the second degree. Captain Oliver C. Coon and Owen Murphy had at once qualified as competent bondsmen and thereby secured his release. "He is coming back to Homestead this afternoon," was the joyful news, and the citizens immediately arranged for a popular demonstration. These arrangements were almost prevented by General Snowden, when a better and more humane sentiment struck him, and he "permitted" McLuckie's friends to carry out their program. Right royally did they convey to their chief municipal official their feelings. They met him at the depot, twenty-five hundred strong, marched triumphantly with him to the rink, and there testified their good will by extending an enthusiastic ovation.

At Pittsburg there was a different program being carried out. Hugh O'Donnell and Hugh Ross had appeared before Judge Magee and asked to be considered his prisoners.

"I can't receive you in that way," said the Judge. "Your lawyers will instruct you what steps to take in order to surrender."

"We come to you," said O'Donnell, "because we are novices in legal matters; and, besides, we want to be disposed of without further delay."

"Go to Alderman McMasters," replied the Court, "or some other person qualified to receive you. In the course of time you may be brought into this court, when I shall dispose of your cases in the regular manner."

Was there ever another instance of two men, against whom warrants for murder had been issued, and these warrants in the possession of constables ready to serve them, begging a court to arrest them, and that court refusing to do so?

O'Donnell and Ross, following Judge Magee's advice, sauntered leisurely to Alderman McMasters' office, where they surrendered, and were subsequently placed in jail. On their way from Judge Magee's court to the alderman's office, they passed one of the constables whose ambition for some time had been to take charge of the two leaders, but the parties, never having passed through the polite form of being introduced, did not recognize each other, and the officer was the loser by considerable. Let us leave the young men in their stony compartments, while we take a view of some of the transactions on Smithfield wharf.

There was the steamer, the Tide, which lazily puffed away while a gang of laborers hurriedly loaded about four hundred cots. There were also nearly one hundred men, whose uneasy and furtive

glances indicated that they were about to go aboard the little boat for some secret purpose. Everything was ready shortly, and Captain Rodgers, of Little Bill fame, gave the order to steam up, and away went the bark for Homestead. This was probably the first decisive move towards resumption by the steel company. True, the furnaces had been fired, but that work required no particular skill or intelligence, and it had therefore been accomplished by about twenty-five or thirty non-union men and probably forty or fifty clerks, protected by as many soldiers.

The strikers, or some of them, were still so combative and excitable as to injure their cause by interfering with non-union men. A constable had arrested Frank Tracy charging him with larceny, and was taking with him as witnesses to Alderman Oeffner's court, four of the new men who had been at work in the mills several days. About 2,500 strikers followed the witnesses and blockaded the street in front of the court room. So demonstrative did they become that Major Crawford ordered out a small band of troops to dispel the crowd. Reinforcements of other troops and deputy sheriffs were needed before orders could be enforced, and it was only after the local police appeared that the crowd would consent to disperse. This demonstration indicated the hatred that existed for the non-union men, and doubtless had an influence in the decision of the powers that were, to retain the troops longer than had been intended.

It may be that the strikers had been frozen by circumstances, and that they had begun to feel nothing but the pinch, and could think of nothing but rebellion. Let men and women thus afflicted, for it was an affliction, have a little sunshine and become thawed, foster them a trifle, and they will reveal themselves in a manner not to be despised.

Arrests of the chief characters among the strikers commenced to be of frequent occurrence, and the families of these men could only look from their windows and see the hills standing as companions to them in that sweet fellowship which big mounds of earth extend toward the lonely. Their husbands and fathers were falling into the clutches of the law's representatives, and were being taken before magistrates, there to have monstrous charges preferred against them. Jack Clifford became a victim, but was soon set at liberty, after furnishing $10,000 security. He was subsequently arrested again and refused bail by one of the courts. Critchlow received a like fate. O'Donnell was soon to follow.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Attempted assassination of H. C. Frick—The would-be murderer of the Carnegie chairman a Russian Jew—He is an anarchist of the worst type—His efforts with gun and dagger prove unsuccessful—The intelligence of his dastardly attempt spreads to Homestead—Resolutions of condolence—Probing for bullets—The victim's recovery—Removed to Homewood—Preparations for suicide—Dynamite cartridges—Incendiary literature.

On Saturday, the twenty-third day of July, the whole civilized world was shocked to receive the intelligence that Henry Clay Frick, Chairman of the Carnegie Steel Company, had been shot down in his private office on Fifth avenue, Pittsburg, by a Russian anarchist of Semitic extraction. Until the details of the most cowardly assault had become known it was generally supposed that the deed was the work of some one of his ex-employes. But the would-be murderer was in no way connected with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, nor was he in any way related to that or any other body of organized laboring men. He was one of a small but deadly class of social enemies and outcasts known as anarchists, at whom the State has already aimed several effective blows.

The record of the assassin and his confreres, showed that none of them was accustomed to earning an honest living. The anarchists of America form, fortunately for our social structure, a very small circle. Their chief occupation is to incite the hard working classes against the capitalists and the government, both of which they urge are iniquitous in their very existence.

From this undesirable tribe came the youth who called himself Alexander Berkmann. His antecedents proved that in New York he had been known under other names, but he was tried and convicted under the title mentioned, which will serve as well as any other for the purposes of this history. The felonious attempt was made at about half past one o'clock in the afternoon, just after the chairman had returned from his luncheon. Berkmann had called at the general offices of the Carnegie company on two previous occasions, asking to see Mr Frick on the pretense that he was engaged in the employment office business and had men whom he wished the concern to hire.

Learning that Mr Frick was in his office, he forced an entrance, and advanced upon the chairman as the latter sat working at his desk. Vice President Leishman was in the private office of Mr Frick at the time, but before either gentleman was aware of the presence of the anarchist, Berkmann drew his revolver and fired point blank at the chairman. The first cartridge failed to explode, but the second attempt was more successful, the

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ball entering the muscles of the back of the neck, and passing around it, lodged under the left ear. Mr Leishman at once ran to Mr Frick's rescue, but not before the would-be assassin fired again, the second missile penetrating near the first, but deflecting down and out under the armpit. By this time Mr Leishman succeeded in grasping the right arm of Berkmann. Then ensued a terrific struggle for the possession of the firearm, in which a third shot was fired, the ball finding lodgment in the ceiling.

Not to be foiled, the bloodthirsty villain drew a large knife, throwing himself upon the wounded man with herculean force. Mr Frick, who had stood the effect of the two bullets with remarkable nerve and fortitude, grapled with the intruder, but was stabbed twice before help could be summoned. One thrust produced an ugly gaping gash in the right hip, the second taking effect a few inches higher. A few other scratches were the result of the struggle which the chairman waged against such fearful odds.

The whole affair occupied a space of not more than sixty seconds, but occurring as it did in the sight of hundreds of passers-by on Fifth avenue, took but an instant to attract a huge throng. Several clerks rushed in, as did also a deputy sheriff who happened to be in the building at the time. Berkmann had been throttled and thrown to the floor by those who had come to the assistance of Mr Frick, and some one held a revolver at the temple of the prostrate anarchist. Mr Frick, who

was weak from excitement and loss of blood, commanded that no harm be done his assailant, and an instant later two policemen rushed in, taking the scoundrel prisoner.

He presented a ghastly, terrible sight. He was short of stature, perhaps five feet seven inches in height, compactly built, and had been neatly dressed in a suit of light gray clothing. His face twitched, and as the officers rushed him through the excited throng to the patrol wagon his breath came in short gasps. His light clothes were all besmeared with Mr Frick's blood, his necktie had been torn from his collar, and altogether he presented a desperate spectacle. The immense throng that had congregated in almost the twinkling of an eye demanded that the man be lynched. But the patrolmen hustled him into the patrol wagon, and in a trice the miscreant was whirled away to the Central police station.

He soon calmed down in confinement, and upon being questioned stated that he had committed the attempt on Mr Frick's life because the latter "was an enemy of the people." He said he was twenty-five years old, was born in Russia, but had lived in the United States five years. He gave his trade as that of a printer, and claimed to have worked on Herr Most's anarchistic sheet in New York. He evaded several direct questions concerning his mission in Pittsburg, but frankly stated that he had come to that city for the purpose of killing Mr Frick, asserting that he had no accomplices. A

search of his clothing revealed the presence of several detonating dynamite cartridges and some incendiary literature. One of the cartridges Berkmann had concealed in his mouth, as with the intent of committing suicide, but this was generally interpreted as a "bluff."

The news of his villainous attempt spread like wildfire, and the street in front of the Carnegie offices for two blocks was fairly jammed with humanity. The doctors who had been summoned to attend the chairman bound up the knife wounds, and probed for the bullet under his ear, but without success. However, a bulletin was issued stating that the chairman would recover, his wounds being not necessarily fatal. About four o'clock an ambulance was summoned, and the street having been cleared with great difficulty, the wounded chairman was removed to his residence in Homewood, a suburb of Pittsburg. Later in the evening it was officially announced that the life of the chairman would be saved, his strong constitution withstanding the severe attack.

Expressions of sympathy for the stricken official were commonly uttered in Homestead, and at a meeting of the Advisory Committee that evening the following was passed by an unanimous vote:

WHEREAS, We deplore the act of the individual not connected with our trouble or association, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we condemn the unlawful act of the wounding of Henry Clay Frick and tender our sympathy hereby, and further

Resolved, That we spread a copy of this resolution upon our minutes and give a copy to the press.

Harry Bauer was arrested as a suspected accomplice of Berkmann, making the fourth person taken into custody on the charge of complicity in the attempt to "remove" Mr Frick. A strong chain of circumstantial evidence was woven about this man, who made some damaging admissions, although he denied being party to the crime charged. It was claimed that Berkmann was not alone, but that a man answering to the description of Bauer was seen to hand him a package, presumably containing either the weapon or cartridges used in the attempted assassination and suicide. Bauer was known to have been a distributor of anarchistic literature, as well as a speaker of some note. He is remembered in Pittsburg as being the man who, at an anarchist meeting some three or four years ago, denounced the government and called the stars and stripes the American dish-rag. This roused the ire of an old soldier in the audience, the meeting broke up in a general row, and Bauer, with his fellow rioters, was arrested and fined.

In Bauer's room on Spring Garden avenue, Allegheny, at the home of Shoemaker Marens, a number of seditious pamphlets and books, together

with a small arsenal in the way of firearms, was found. No incriminating letters were found, and it was believed these had been systematically destroyed. Bauer was remarkably cool and self-contained, and talked very little. Paul Eckert, with whom Bauer stopped on his first arrival in the city, said Berkmann, Knold and he had talked of the strike, but denied all knowledge of a plot. Karl Knold, living in the same house where Bauer roomed, was also arrested, and joined in the general denial of all knowledge of the crime.

F. Mollick, known to be an intimate friend and associate of Berkmann, was, on a telegram, arrested at Long Branch, and preparation made to bring him to Pittsburg. He acknowledged his friendship for Berkmann, and said he had sent him money, which is in accordance with the customs of all anarchists, but said he knew nothing of Berkmann's intentions, and was in no way concerned in any of his plots.

Secretary Lovejoy made six informations against Berkmann, three charging felonious assault—two on Mr Frick and one on Mr Leishman—and three charging entering the building for the purpose of committing assault. Bail was fixed at $14,000. It is needless to add that gentleman went to jail.

CHAPTER XXIV.

News of attempted assassination in camp—A fatal exclamation—In the guard house—Stern military discipline—Suspended by the thumbs—Cheap clothes—Five cent hat—Complete degradation—A bifurcated garment—A piteous spectacle—Explaining the sentence—The "rogue's march"—Iams at home—In civilian's clothing—Relating his story—Return to camp—A hostile colonel—Carrying a log.

When the intelligence of the attempt on the life of Mr Frick reached the camp of the National Guard, every soldier was eager to hear the news in detail. The mere fact of the shooting was mentioned in the provisional brigade at Swissvale, it being announced unofficially at about three o'clock, just as one of the regiments was ordered out for inspection. As word was passed from tent to tent, "Frick was shot this afternoon," Private W. L. Iams, of Company K, Tenth Regiment, exclaimed:

"Hurrah for the man who shot him!"

The remark was made in the hearing of Lieutenant-Colonel Streator, but it was regularly reported to him a few moments after its utterance. As soon as Company K had been drawn up in line, Colonel Streator commanded the author of the

incendiary exclamation to step two paces to the front. Without hesitancy, Iams boldly stepped out of line.

When asked why he had made the remark, he replied defiantly :

"I did it because I hate Frick !"

The commanding officer then ordered Iams placed in the guard house. Iams further explained that he disliked Mr Frick because the latter had been the cause of the militia being ordered out, not only at the present time, but during the coke riots at Morewood.

After the indiscreet youth had been placed under guard, Colonel Streator, General Hawkins, Captain Pomley of Company K, and Captain Brown, held a hurried consultation on his case. After a brief trial, they decided to punish him by hanging him up by the thumbs.*

Accordingly, every preparation was made to mete out stern military discipline to the self-confessed culprit. He was made to stand on a box, his thumbs were fastened securely to a cross-bar made from a tent pole erected for the express purpose ; then the box was removed, so that the lad's toes just touched the ground. It was now about five o'clock, but the sun was frightfully hot, making the ordeal rigorous in the extreme. The

*There seems to be a difference of opinion as to who was responsible for the punishment of Iams. From the best authority, the above statement is obtained. Probably an absolutely correct version will never be known.

IAMS REFUSES TO APOLOGIZE.

punishment was not public, even the soldiers being denied sight of the culprit as he was suspended, all but in mid air. The only witnesses were the officers of the regiment, and the surgeons. Surgeon Neff tested Iams' pulse, while his assistants watched the heart action.

Iams suffered terrible torture. His Spartan fortitude, however, never forsook him, and he carefully concealed all evidences of the physical pain he certainly had to bear. For twenty-eight minutes he stood the punishment without a murmur, refusing to recant or apologize. At the expiration of that time his heart action grew so weak that the surgeons decided that further infliction would be dangerous, and the order was given to cut him down.

He fainted almost immediately when he experienced relief from the fearful strain, but restoratives were applied, with rapidly favorable effect. He was retaken to the guard house, given food and stimulants, and kept in confinement all night.

The case was at once reported to General Snowden, the offense and punishment being outlined in detail. The senior commander read the report to his staff, who had been assembled to act on the subject. After a short consultation, Colonel Streator's course was most heartily approved, and without a dissenting voice. General Snowden therefore returned the report, endorsed with his unqualified approval, with instructions added that Iams be further punished by being "discharged in

disgrace, drummed out of camp, and sent home." The order read :

"His crime is that of treason. His conduct was that of aiding, abetting, and giving comfort to our enemy. The entire provisional brigade will report to General Hawkins, commanding, and will assist in escorting the dishonorably discharged soldier out of the camp."

General Snowden further intimated in his instructions that it would be well to follow certain usages, expelling Iams with impressive ceremony.

Preparations were accordingly made to carry out this order in detail. The acting brigade quartermaster was ordered to go to Braddock and purchase the cheapest and meanest suit of clothing possible. For the sum of one dollar he secured a blue drilling jumper or tunic, with overalls of the same material. A flimsy straw hat, which was to complete the suit, required an outlay of five cents. The officer returned to camp at about midnight, exhibiting his purchases, which were approved.

Early on Sunday morning, as fair a day as ever dawned, young Iams was brought out of the guard house, that his degradation might be completed. His brass buttons were first stripped from his uniform, a mark of military disgrace. Then the uniform itself was taken from him, and the cheap suit substituted. It seemed to have been purchased for a much smaller man. The disgraced militiaman was fully six feet tall, but the uniform of humiliation would have but scantily covered the

shortest man in the regiment. The trousers were twelve inches too short, while the blouse only came within four inches of the waistband of the bifurcated garment below.

Attired in this grotesque garb, the prisoner was led to the company barber, where half his hair and beard were shaved off, the entire right side of his head being left smooth as the proverbial billiard ball. A more piteous spectacle of disgrace could not have been imagined.

At ten o'clock the brigade was assembled, the three regimental bands playing doleful music. The soldiers were drawn up in a solid column, the Fourteenth Regiment on the right, the Fourth ranging next, the Tenth and Battery C being on the extreme left. The camp was then cleared of all visitors, no person being allowed to cross the lines of sentinels. The 1,600 soldiers were brought to attention, awaiting the impressive event which was to culminate the mortification of their erstwhile comrade in arms. Colonel Streator then rode to the guard house, and in the presence of the prisoner commanded twenty guards to load their rifles, and shoot down the prisoner, should he attempt to escape.

Iams was then marched to the center of the brigade column. Here Adjutant Hays read a report of the crime, its first punishment, Snowden's approval, and the further sentence of the major-general. In impressive tones he explained what the sentence implied in detail. It meant disfran-

chisement for the unfortunate prisoner of war; prohibiting him from holding office of emolument or trust in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania; in short, depriving him of all the rights of a citizen of the United States.

The brigade was now formed in a hollow square, in the center of which the guarded prisoner was placed. Then, with the bands playing the Rogues' March, the entire provisional brigade, General Hawkins commanding, marched to Swissvale station. The prisoner, drummed out of camp in disgrace, was then allowed to board a passing freight train which carried him to Pittsburg.

Iams went forthwith to his home in Pittsburg and procured civilian's clothing, which he at once substituted for the insignia of disgrace given him by the colonel of his regiment. He secured the services of a barber, had the unshaven half of his head made to correspond with the remainder. His friends flocked about him, and to them he told the story of his treatment, not omitting any of the details of his offense. The matter was thoroughly ventilated by the newspapers, while it was the one subject of comment among the soldier boys at Homestead.

The *esprit de corps* which is generally supposed to prevail in all military bodies was not wanting in the National Guard of Pennsylvania, and the action of Colonel Streator, fortified as it was by the approval of General Snowden, met with not even the slightest criticism on the part of any of the officers,

line or staff. The entire story did not become thoroughly circulated until Monday, when the Pittsburg papers containing detailed accounts of Iams' offense and its punishment were fairly devoured by those in camp. Iams had a very few sympathizers, and when he indiscreetly returned to camp in the afternoon to tell the tale of his woes he was avoided by every man who wore a National Guard uniform.

Newspaper men who attempted to get anything out of the commissioned officers in camp, strictur-ing the discipline, failed utterly, but Iams allowed himself to be profusely interviewed. He felt his disgrace only too keenly, but seemed to display great nerve and spirit. His story differed not from the account heretofore given, but was further enlightened by the assertion that his colonel had always been hostile to him. He said that a few nights before his punishment he had gone to sleep at his post of duty, and been disciplined by having to carry a log for twelve hours. He further asserted that his messmates had censured the colonel for the summary infliction visited on him, (Iams) express-ing their sympathy in material ways.

But notwithstanding the general approval with which the punishment of Iams was sustained in Camp Black, the unanimous sentiment of the country at large vigorously condemned General Snowden and Colonel Streator. The press took it up, far and wide, criticising these officers in unmeasured terms. Several regular United States

Army officers joined in the general condemnation, pronouncing the discipline as being almost too severe for modern times of war, and certainly a barbarous usage for times of peace. Iams was colored as a martyred hero, many attorneys proffering their assistance gratis in the civil and criminal action which the boy's friends and relatives promised to bring against the officers. Several persons contributed modest sums of cash to assist in the prosecution, and the vigor with which preparations to this end were begun promised to make the affair a *cause celebre.*

However, General Snowden and Colonel Streator were unmoved. They simply pronounced Iams a mutineer who had been punished with wholesome justice. They claimed that had his offense been condoned the spirit of mutiny would have spread with almost incomprehensible celerity, since the soldiers were already fretful over their enforced stay at Homestead. There is no doubt that the Iams case had a salutary effect. The discipline of Camp Black was always most commendable, but after this incident it sprung to a condition of par excellence, which was maintained to the very end.

CHAPTER XXV.

Mrs O'Donnell visits her husband—Pinkertons in jail—More of Secretary Lovejoy's statements—Eviction notices—The Tide's three trips—Suspense—A new Amalgamated Association—A proclamation—Out on bonds—Desertions—Departure of troops—Protecting non-union men—Bluff and steam—Sickness—Foy released—Sympathetic cablegram—A tribunal of arbitration—Attentive to business.

O'Donnell, Peter Allen, Ross and Foy, deprived of their liberty, were objects of much sympathy. Mrs O'Donnell visited her husband in prison the day after he surrendered, upon which occasion there was an affecting scene. The presence of a dozen Pinkertons who were produced to "identify O'Donnell as one of the participants in the riot," seemed an unnecessary proceeding in view of the fact that the young leader's wife was at that moment waiting to be allowed the privilege of weeping upon the breast of him she loved so well.

Secretary Lovejoy's untiring efforts, redoubled after Chairman Frick was wounded, were proving profitable to the company, as he announced that "300 men were now in the works and more were coming." Notice to the strikers that they must

vacate the cottages in ten days in order that new arrivals could be placed therein, was another blow to the cause, almost as hard to bear as the imprisonment of O'Donnell, Ross, Allen and Foy. Then, the steamer Tide made three trips in one day, carrying men and cots and provisions, all finding places in the mills. Telegrams from Philadelphia, Boston and Chicago furnished conclusive evidence that workmen in large squads were being secured to take the places of the strikers.

O'Donnell was taken into court and the prosecution made a bitter fight against release on bail. Judge Magee, for good reasons as stated, reserved his decision till Monday, and this left the prisoners in jail over Sunday. No passes of any kind or character were recognized at the mills and in certain portions of Homestead. The old iron workers began to remove from their homes to other quarters. The week closed in favor of the steel company.

But the following week opened in favor of the strikers, for Judge Magee fixed the bonds of the prisoners at $10,000 each. Matt Weiss, of Pittsburg, and Owen Murphy, of Homestead, were accepted as bondsmen for O'Donnell. Hugh Ross found a willing friend in Alderman Martin Schaffer, of Pittsburg, who secured his release. J. F. Hill and David Anderson signed Peter Allen's bond. Through some misunderstanding Nathan Foy's bondsmen failed to appear and he was remanded to the keeping of the jail warden. These releases were hailed with delight by a multitude

W. S ANDERSON.

of friends and a great ovation was tendered the leaders when they returned to Homestead.

Vice President Carney, of the Amalgamated Association, had organized a similar institution at Duquesne, and several hundred workers had become members. They paid no attention to the sheriff's proclamation, either, which was a notification to the men not to assemble in large crowds. Quite a number of non-union workmen who had been employed in the mills had deserted the steel company and gone over to the strikers. So, at the end of two weeks, the struggle for ascendency was still in doubt.

The news that the State troops were ordered home was received with joy both by the Homesteaders and the soldiers—the only cloud over their spirits being the order that two regiments were to remain indefinitely. As troop after troop struck camp and the regiments were borne away, a feeling of relief prevailed among the strikers which the almost hourly arrival of non-union men could not entirely counteract.

Over one hundred non-union workers arrived from the East and disembarked at Swissvale, were marched under the escort of two companies to the Little Bill, and lodged within the mill yard. The steamer Tide was also busy transporting men to the mills. Many of these men claimed that they were induced to come to Homestead by false representations, and that, once inside the stockade, they were, to all intents and purposes, prisoners. Henry

Stocher, who claimed 1226 Randall street, Philadelphia, as his residence, was successful in his efforts to leave the mill. He said:

"I was hired in Philadelphia as a bricklayer, in company with twenty or thirty others, to come to Pittsburg. None of us realized until we were within the walls, that our destination was the Homestead mills. We were made prisoners in the works and guarded like convicts. The more ignorant were told by the foreman that if they ventured outside, the union men would shoot them like dogs. I asked to be allowed to leave, but was forbidden. I managed to secure a daily paper, and read the account of the strike to the men. This came to the ears of the foreman and he ordered me to leave, which I was very glad to do. The men in the mills are perfectly ignorant of the works, and are mostly foreigners, and absolutely no headway has been made in operating the machinery. The smoke and steam seen by those outside are simply a bluff, as the men are doing nothing. At least half of them are sick from heat, bad water and poor food, and one man was badly injured in the machinery. If the men were sure of being well treated, they would leave gladly."

The Amalgamated Association took this man in charge, and he was well cared for.

In the course of time, J. Trautman and Mrs Gusky went on Nathan or William Foy's bail for $10,000.

A meeting of mechanics took place at the headquarters of the A. A. of I. and S. W., and several stirring speeches were made. Great enthusiasm prevailed, as fifty new men joined the association, and resolutions to stand firmly by each other were passed.

The indomitable will which had distinguished Mr Frick throughout the strike was still the strongest characteristic of this stern man. Although suffering and greatly weakened by his wound, he kept thoroughly posted with all that was going on. He spent most of the time closeted with his assistants, who visited him constantly, and every act they made was under his supervision and by his directions. All papers were signed by him, as usual, and all the duties contingent upon his position were discharged with all the decision and energy displayed in his strongest moments. Cablegrams of sympathy and good wishes were received from Mr Carnegie, who expressed himself as desirous of being kept well posted in everything bearing on the strike.

Mr Carnegie had displayed a good deal of skill and ingenuity in keeping out of the way of interviewers, and when, at last, he was located, he refused to discuss the situation. In answer to pointed questions he said :

"I have had nothing to do with the business for three years, and have the most implicit confidence in the managers of the mills. I could not interfere if I would, and I would not if I could."

This very terse statement of Mr Carnegie's position is supposed to be in keeping with the by-laws of the steel company, for, although Mr Carnegie is undoubtedly deeply interested in the success or failure of the mills, Mr Frick, as manager, is invested with absolute and unquestioned anthority.

The inquest on the victims of the great battle, was held July 26. The testimony of Drs McGeary, Sipe and Walker was taken as to the condition of the men after the fight, and the cause of their deaths. Deputy Sheriff Gray repeated his story with but one addition. He said that he warned Mr Potter that the Pinkertons would be taken for non-union workmen and that they were made to don their uniforms on account of this. The only sensation made was caused by the testimony of Captain Coons and Chas Mansfield, who saw the fight from the shore, and corroborated each other in the statement that the first shots were fired from the barges. The son of George Rutter, who was killed, stated that his father, before dying, told him that the Pinkertons fired first. The inquest then adjourned until the following Tuesday.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Riot among non-union men—Peculiar methods—Indignant workmen—Climbing the walls—Contradictory statements—A favored reporter—Deserted homes—Arbitration refused—Issuing circulars—Thirty-third street mill started up—Everything quiet—The strike at Duquesne—Inside the stockade—Leaving the mills—Refusing Carnegie steel—Appeals to the public.

A riot on a Baltimore & Ohio train among non-union workmen who were being brought to Homestead, revealed the peculiar methods by which the places of strikers were being filled. One of these men, Joseph Manning, who left when he found Homestead to be his destination, said :

" There were fifty-six of us hired in Cincinnati by F. W. Nye, in answer to an advertisement promising easy work and good pay. We were told the work was in Pittsburg, but had no idea we were intended for the Homestead mills. In the morning after boarding the cars we found the doors and windows locked and armed guards in charge. This roused suspicions which were confirmed by the information, in reply to our questions, that Homestead was our destination. This created great

indignation, and we demanded the right to leave the train, which was refused. A general row ensued. Several men were cut by the bayonets, and plenty of black eyes were given. The doors were forced open and men began dropping off. When we got to the depot only twenty-one men were left. I was the twenty-first man, and I got away by mixing with the crowd."

Manning was taken care of by the Amalgamated Association and sent home. Hugh Sweeney, another workman who also had been misled, escaped from the mills by climbing the walls. He said there were not more than thirty or forty men working, although there were nearly seven hundred men within the stockade. These were mostly Hungarians and knew nothing of the strike. The company furnished them with overalls, jumpers and caps, gave them plenty to eat and smoke, and they asked for nothing more.

It is impossible, however, to get at the true state of affairs at this time. Apparently reliable reports were of the most contradictory character. Claims were made by both sides. Secretary Lovejoy averred that the work was of the most satisfactory nature, and that he had more applicants for positions than he could find places for. The Amalgamated Association were equally as positive in their assertions that none of the work turned out would stand testing, and that while there were doubtless plenty of men ready to work there were few, if any, skilled laborers among them.

Although placards bearing the legend "No newspaper men allowed inside" had been liberally posted, a favored reporter was admitted by Assistant Chairman Childs, with the promise that he would report faithfully what he saw. He stated that a large number of men were at work making steel and that nearly all machinery was in motion.

In direct contradiction to this was the report made by Superintendent O'Mara, Inspector McKelvey and Captain Brophy, who visited the mills to see if more deputies were required. They found everything quiet and said there were few signs of activity. Beyond the machine shop in the upper mill and the forge at the lower plant, everything was quiet.

One of the most distressing features of this long fight was the moving out of the families from the company's houses at Homestead. No evictions were necessary. The company served notice that the cottages would be wanted for the families of the new employes, and the old employes proceeded at once to find other quarters.

An attempt was made to have a tribunal of arbitration appointed by the Circuit Court, with a view to settling the Homestead difficulty, as well as any other that might arise. The assent of the Carnegie Company was required, however, and this they refused to give. Two circulars were issued by the Amalgamated Association—one in reference to this tribunal and the other having in view the extension of the power of the members constituting the

conference committee of the Amalgamated Association, and giving authority to accept propositions looking to a settlement of matters when they judged it proper. This latter was put to vote and adopted.

The starting up of the plate mill at Thirty-third street created no excitement. Trouble was feared by the company, who arranged for an extra number of deputies, and these were reinforced by the strikers themselves, who offered to guard against any riots.

The strike at Duquesne terminated with the unconditional surrender of the men. This occasioned no surprise, as it had been expected by the Homestead men, who were too occupied by their own affairs to be cast down by this failure. An effort was being made to assure the men on the inside of the stockade that only kindness awaited them on the outside. They were too closely guarded to be reached by ordinary methods, so strategy was resorted to. A number of circulars in both German and English were prepared, stating the situation and promising help to get home and to secure other employment. These were thrown from the train as it passed over the mill yards on the trestle. The company was unprepared for this move, and could not prevent the men picking up and reading the circular. Guards were stationed along the line of the trestle to prevent a repetition of this move, but the mischief was already done, and men began leaving the mills in large numbers

This put a brighter face on the future to the workmen, as did also the numerous refusals by unions all over the country to handle Carnegie steel.

An accession to the ranks of the strikers was made at this critical point that created a general feeling of elation. Superintendent Nichols, of the Thirty-third street mills, resigned his position and joined the locked-out men. He gave, as his reason for so doing, that the company had tried to use him as a tool to do objectionable work.

The signing of the Amalgamated scale by the Pittsburg iron manufacturers was another hopeful sign, as this allowed the association to concentrate all its forces to arrange a settlement of the Homestead trouble.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and a number of other prominent labor people, visited Homestead to render all the assistance that cheering words and hearty co-operation could give. An immense mass meeting was held and an appeal issued to the American public for aid by contributions was sent out. Another circular, addressed to all workingmen, was also mailed to all parts of the country, requesting them not to work upon material shipped from the Carnegie Steel Company, and by their refusal, help the struggle for organization.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Visiting the mills—More arrests—A jangle between the militia and trainmen—Torpedoes on the tracks—Musket balls—A striker shot—Ross Grove—The bloody Pinkertons—Resolutions of sympathy—Distributing funds—Legal services from abroad—Big claims of the company—A bomb explosion—Moving into the houses—Returns to the mills—A soldier killed—Patrols—In the toils once more—The first visit—"A thing of the past"—Spies at work.

For a long period there were few things of importance occurring. In quick succession, however, the following incidents happened:

Several strikers entered the works on passes issued to them by the company, and emerged to say that considerable progress was being made.

Harry Hickerman, a striker, was arrested on an information which charged conspiracy and riot. He was put in jail, as the Amalgamated Association's counsel were out of the city.

Soldiers on the Little Bill fired a heavy volley of musket balls at a passing freight train because it was reported that the train men had treated the Little Bill to the contents of several revolvers. The train hands said the shots thus charged up

against them were torpedoes placed upon the tracks for signaling purposes.

John Fleishman, a striker, was shot in the groin while he was doing patrol duty in the interests of the locked-out men at Carnegie's Pittsburg mills. He saw two men coming down a railroad track, and a third man in another direction cast a stone at the pair of pedestrians. They drew their revolvers and shot Fleishman nigh unto death.

A big meeting occurred at Ross Grove, where all the strikers assembled, listened to speeches, passed resolutions of sympathy for the Buffalo railroad strikers and congratulations for the Beaver Falls and Twenty-ninth street strikers who had gone out in pure sympathy for the Homestead men.

The relief committee were daily distributing from two hundred to three hundred dollars to relieve those in need.

Messrs W. W. Erwin, of Minnesota, and G. W. Argo, of Iowa, the attorneys who so ably assisted local counsel in clearing the strikers of the charges preferred against them, arrived and laid preliminary plans for the defense.

Pinkertons were reported by the score to be in the midst of the strikers, and even attending their lodge and other secret meetings. The position of a spy, if discovered in time of war, entitles him to death. This punishment should be meeted out to a spy under any and all circumstances.

The company gave it out unreservedly that they had two thousand men at work in their mills.

Superintendent Potter made some of the newspapers believe it, and they in turn made some of the strikers very uneasy.

The report was published that the soldiers had been compelled to submit to so many indignities from the men and women of Homestead that they preferred to remain until the matter became definitely settled.

A fearful bomb explosion happened at Lawrenceville. Some persons placed a bomb in a freight car, with the result that a few splinters of the car remained after the explosion. The non-union men in the mills became panic stricken and fought among themselves to escape until many of them were dangerously injured. They were cared for; their wounds were dressed and many comforts were bestowed upon them—by the strikers.

Again the unemployed at Homestead injured their cause by interfering with the non-union men who began moving into the company's houses. But, these houses for years had sheltered the strikers and their families, and above the doors had been hung the symbols of good luck. Had not these cottages been the homes of the strikers? And who will say that this was not human nature cropping out? Still, the more rational knew their cause was receiving another black eye by these manifestations. The soldiers very properly dispersed the angry men and women, and the moving process went on without interruption.

Half a dozen strikers, who had been drawing minimum wages before the trouble, could not withstand the temptation of maximum wages, and so deserted their old friends for new ones in the mills.

Jeremiah Benninghoff, a fine soldier lad, was accidently shot by Ford Smith, another soldier lad. Poor Jerry died within an hour and poor Ford never recovered from the shock. The officer in charge relieved all the soldiers of their revolvers and no more accidents occurred.

Weighmaster Smith was assaulted by four men at Braddock and fearfully punished. Two men were subsequently arrested who were supposed to have been his assailants.

Soldiers were once more ordered to patrol the streets of Homestead under the plea that deputy sheriffs and other officers were being mistreated. The jealousy between the county and municipal officials that is to be found in every place of importance in the world, existed at Homestead, and hence there were constant disagreements and continual clashings.

Three Pinkertons, regardless of the contempt heaped upon them from all quarters, both outside of Homestead and within its limits, searched a striker's house in quest of guns, of which they had been relieved upon a certain occasion. This trio of man hunters, as they said, were "out for revenge." In order to secure "revenge" some of these creatures have been known to swear innocent and respectable

people into the four walls of a penitentiary. Crooked work and criminal action, fortunately, as before suggested in these pages, have placed many of the Pinkertons where their victims could witness their disgrace—if it is possible to disgrace a human being who will engage in such a disgraceful and reprehensible traffic as spying and "sleuthing." James Gibson, a striker, was arrested by these Pinkertons in search of guns and charged with conspiracy and riot. He was liberated as soon as his bondsmen could attach their names to the necessary document.

Another big mass meeting was held, which was addressed by the visiting attorneys and several of the leading strikers. And yet a number of their friends who had left the Lawrenceville mills returned to their old posts of duty.

Another warrant charging Hugh O'Donnell with conspiracy and aggravated riot had been issued, and he surrendered, gave bail and was released. It is presumed that O'Donnell's recent successful efforts in the East to raise funds on behalf of the strikers inspired some one high up in steel mills circles to make an example of this young leader once more.

John Edwards, likewise, was taken under the wing of the law, as, also, were Acting Chairman Thomas Crawford, G. H. Gaches, treasurer of the relief fund, Burgess McLuckie, John Wipe, John Nelson and John Ryland. "Conspiracy and inciting a riot," was the ominous sentence employed to

place these men in a prison. But they escaped this humiliation by furnishing each a good and sufficient bond, and then went back to Homestead.

Chairman Frick, on the last day of August, paid his first visit to the mills since the strike, and spent a couple of hours taking in the situation. He expressed himself well pleased with the progress, and said :

"The strike is a thing of the past!"

Mr Frick is a keen observer and has a gift of saying a great deal in a few words, although that great deal at all times may not be original.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Falling leaves—A lawyer's statement—Hugh Ross upon the scene—Surrenders—A fearful excursion—Typhoid fever—Some wild speeches—Breaks—Repudiation—Wholesale indictments—Berkmann's trial—Guilty and sentenced—Injured tools—A visit from the boss—Identifying a rogue—Indicting a Pinkerton—Denied bail—Three leaders in jail—A minister's version—Three months of the strike—A handful of deserters—Official list of killed on the fatal day of the attack.

The month of September arrived and the end seemed still far away. Doubt as to the real situation had been established by garbled reports. It devolved upon Mr G. W. Argo, the Sioux City lawyer, to apprise the outside world of some unpublished facts. In a letter to Chicago friends Mr Argo said that there were fifteen hundred men at work in the mills, but they were chiefly incompetents. Some of them had died in the mills, others were about ready to follow, while not a few had been maimed for life in the machinery of which they knew practically nothing. The temperature of the mills ranged from one hundred to one hundred and fifty degrees, and this intense and perpetual heat, together with bad water, had increased the

HUGH F. DEMPSEY.

mortality alarmingly. The steamer Tide made nightly trips carrying the dead and wounded from the works to Pittsburg.

The hearings of the Homestead leaders on the charges of conspiracy and aggravated riot began. Those arraigned were Hugh O'Donnell, David Lynch, G. W. Sarver, W. T. Roberts and William McConegly. Hugh Ross surrendered to Alderman McMasters. The Pinkertons arrested Matthew Foy, charging him with murder. If Foy had known the itching palms which all Pinkertons possess, he could have gone free by slipping into their hands a small roll of bills. These same "officers" also took charge of Elmer E. Bales, conspiracy; Oscar Colflesh, aggravated riot and conspiracy. Harry Bayne surrendered to Alderman McMasters. Judge Ewing refused bail to Jack Clifford, who was being held on a charge of murder, but he accepted bonds of $10,000 for Foy's appearance. Foy returned to Homestead in time to attend the first weekly meeting in September, at which there were twelve hundred strikers present.

Chairman Thomas Crawford, who by force of circumstances and ability had been pushed to the front as a leader at the beginning of the fight, was now made the head of the Advisory Committee, in which capacity he counseled moderation in these public gatherings. He condemned the loud-mouthed, anarchistic screechers for gore, and stopped the attacks that had been made with great precision and regularity upon the press and its rep-

resentatives. His influence for more conservative action in everything was soon felt, much to the credit of all concerned. Had there been more Crawfords many disastrous incidents would not have occurred. The cigarmakers' picnic excursion up the river would not have been disciplined by the soldiers; the cigarmakers would not have taunted the non-union men until the militia were called out to prevent trouble; Ward, the wild-eyed party who delivered several inflammatory tirades at the Saturday meetings, would not have been tolerated; non-union men would not have been molested while going to their meals or moving their household goods; scores of things that transpired to injure the cause would not have been tolerated had the Tom Crawfords been more numerous.

From September 5 to 19 there was a decided lull. A few unimportant happenings were recorded, among which may be mentioned the following:

Non-union men, guarded by coal and iron police, for the first time, began taking their meals in Homestead restaurants.

A report came from Tamaqua that August Raab, of Company B, Eighth Regiment, had died of typhoid fever, and that eight others of the same company, were stricken, also.

Paul Oldshue, the acknowledged leader of the Slavs and Hungarians, was reported to have notified the relief committee that more funds were necessary to keep his followers in line.

Bar room fights began to grow numerous, and they were invariably the outgrowth of disputes between non-union workers and strikers.

The steamer Tide was fired upon by unknown parties who improvised a small cannon for the purpose.

Breaks occurred now and then in the ranks of the strikers as well as among the non-union men.

Alek Wisloski and Arnold Frank, employes of the steel company, made an ineffectual attempt to stampede the foreign element of the strikers.

The grand jury indicted twenty-nine Duquesne strikers for riot and conspiracy.

The Fifteenth Regiment received orders to prepare for departure home, leaving only the Sixteenth Regiment as a guard.

On Monday, September 19, Alexander Berkmann, as previously stated, had his trial. He made no defense, scorning legal advice. He prepared a written address, which was nothing but an inflammatory document, denouncing the man he had attempted to assassinate, his adopted country, the American flag, the courts, and all other institutions designed to preserve the peace and promote patriotism. He was convicted on six different indictments, receiving sentence as follows: Seven years in the penitentiary for felonious assault; five years for an intent to kill; nine years (three indictments) for entering a building with murderous intent; and, after serving these twenty-one years, he is to spend

a year in the workhouse for carrying concealed and deadly weapons.

A serious break down occurred in the 119-inch plate mill, involving the destruction of the big shears, and a loss of $15,000, besides enforcing a suspension of operations in this department. Mr Frick at once began making visits to the mills and made careful inspections, which caused the gossips to cry that he was dissatisfied with his subordinates.

Typhoid fever and dysentery became quite alarming, and the general health of Homestead was not of the most encouraging character.

The grand jury turned up with one hundred and sixty-seven indictments for aggravated riot and conspiracy against that number of strikers.

P. J. O'Connor was identified as a spy and traitor and proved to be a detective in the employ of the steel company. Fred Primer, another spy and a Pinkerton, was indicted for aggravated riot on the testimony of Burgess McLuckie. Of course Primer had no difficulty in obtaining bail.

Judge Porter handed down his opinion refusing O'Donnell bail, and remanded the young leader to jail on a charge of murdering J. W. Klein, one of the Pinkerton guards. The court admitted that the evidence of the prosecution was liable to be impeached and contradicted at the trial, but in a preliminary examination it had to be considered and accepted.

A few hours later a monster meeting was held at the rink in Homestead. The principal speaker

was the Rev. Dr Andrews, of the Universalist Church, of Allegheny city. In scathing terms he boldly asserted that Mr Frick was the worst anarchist in this country and the greatest criminal in the world. It would be interesting to know if Dr Andrews still entertains this opinion of Chairman Frick.

Three months had passed since the strike was inaugurated, and yet the Amalgamated Association —with some of its leaders in jail, others before the courts fighting for their freedom, and nearly two hundred informations against the rank and file of the strikers in existence — still maintained an unbroken front. Of all the claims of the steel company they could find the names of only six of this wonderful organization upon their books. This was fortitude worthy of the admiration of the association's worst enemies, and certainly its admirers and sympathizers must have worshiped the principles that kept it amalgamated, and loved the men who had guided its course thus far safely through the stormy times.

That the steel company began to feel safe was apparent from the movements of the militia. A consultation resulted in an order to the effect that four companies of the Sixteenth Regiment should prepare to depart, which was done without delay. This left companies A, C, D and I, of the Sixteenth Regiment, to control the entire situation.

In the meantime, after several adjournments, the coroner's work of enquiring into the extent of

fatalities on that dreadful day when the Pinkerton guards and the strikers measured their strength, had about been completed. Ten deaths were reported—seven strikers and three guards had paid the penalty of rash conduct upon the part of some man or set of men. The names of these unfortunate fellows are as follows:

J. W. KLEIN, a Pinkerton guard; age 42 years; died of a wound in the head.

EDWARD A. R. SPEER, a Pinkerton guard; age 36 years; died from the effects of a wound in the right leg, eleven days after the battle.

T. J. CONNORS, a Pinkerton guard; age 30 years; died from a wound in the right arm which severed the femoral artery.

JOSEPH SOTAK, a striker; age 34 years; died from the shock of a wound in the left knee.

THOMAS WELDON, a striker; age 30 years; died from a wound in the abdomen.

HENRY STREIGEL, a driver; age 19 years; died from a wound received at the beginning of the battle.

GEORGE W. RUTTER, a striker; age 46 years; died eleven days after the fight.

PETER FAREIS, a striker; age 25 years; died six hours after receiving his wound.

SILAS WAIN, a striker; age 24 years; his head blown off by a grape-shot from one of the cannons.

JOHN E. MORRIS, a striker; age 28 years; instantly killed by a ball in the forehead.

This completes the ghastly list of fatalities.

The number wounded and crippled for life will never be known. The heartaches occasioned by the day's bloody work cannot be estimated. The blighted hopes of the once contented workmen are like the leaves that wither and fall when touched by the frosts.

CHAPTER XXIX.

An eventful month—A profound sensation—Chief Justice Paxson's hand—Cementing of the strikers—Treason and its meaning—General Snowden's claim to notoriety—Dastardly attempt on a boarding house — Political significance — Indictments — Troops withdrawn—Some pertinent questions—Increasing the forces—Where the votes went—Frick and the Republicans—"A change" that was wanted—Mr Carnegie's contribution—Affiliation—The laboring men's contribution—How votes count.

October opened up with a decided sensation. It was announced that Chief Justice Paxson* would sit and instruct the grand jury in the matter of charges of treason against the strikers. To say that this information produced a profound feeling, well nigh paralyzing, for the moment, all action, is but stating a simple truth. The informations were sworn to by ex-County Detective Henry Beltzhoover, who made affidavit against the entire Advisory Board, as follows:

David H. Shannon, John McLuckie, David Lynch, Thos. J. Crawford, Hugh O'Donnell, Harry Bayne, Elmer E. Ball, Isaac Byers, Henry Bayard,

*Chief Justice Paxson's charge will be found in Chapter XXX.

T. W. Brown, George Champene, Sylvester Critchlow, Miller Colgan, John Coyle, Jack Clifford, Dennis M. Cush, William McConeghy, Michael Cummings, William Combs, John Durkes, Patrick Fagin, W. S. Gaches, Nathan Harris, Reid Kennedy, John Miller, O. O. Searight, John Murray, H. M. Thompson, Martin Murray, Hugh Ross, William T. Roberts, George Rylands and Geo. W. Sarver.

The law under which this proceeding was brought is the Crimes act of 1860, under which it is said a number of prosecutions were at that time conducted. It comprehended the arrest for treason of "anyone owing allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, who shall levy war against the same, or shall adhere to the enemies thereof, giving them aid or comfort within the State or elsewhere, and shall be thereof convicted," etc., and the punishment consisted of a fine not exceeding $2,000 and imprisonment not exceeding twelve years.

The following official statement was made public immediately, and its tenor indicated a complete arousing of the national Amalgamated Association :

"Homestead's striking steel workers have prepared to fight the last move of the Carnegie Steel Company, in instituting charges of treason against the Advisory Board, to the bitter end."

The Amalgamated Association at once secured the legal services of Thomas M. Marshall, Sr., William J. Reardon and Maj. E. A. Montooth.

This combination of brains and talent, coupled to that already employed, which included Messrs Brennen and Cox, and W. W. Erwin, of St Paul, Min., and Geo. W. Argo, of Sioux City, Ia., left no question as to the strikers having ample resources to fight their cause in the courts.

No doubt remained that the course pursued by the steel company solidified the strikers, and cemented whatever factional elements may have arisen in their ranks. Such a heretofore unheard-of action created unusual discussion in all walks of life, and particularly the legal fraternity was stirred up. Among the most prominent lawyers who expressed opinions with reference to the important matter, was ex-Chief Justice Agnew, who, in referring to it, thus defined treason:

"The act is definite. The traitor is one who owes allegiance to the State and is guilty of a breach of it. The central thought in treason is a breach of faith—of that tie of duty which the traitor owes to the State herself—and is not to be confounded with a mere violation of law. Treason includes a violation of law, but it embraces more —a violation of faith. Its essence is treachery. perjury, a violation of confidence. The difference between treason and riot lies in the purpose, public in one, private in the other."

The national Amalgamated Association had, up to this time, stood aloof, but had rendered assistance to the local lodges through the Advisory Board. When this trump card was played, Presi-

dent Weihe, backed by the big Association, served notice that no stone would be left unturned to fight the great battle to a successful finish.

The indicted men surrendered or were arrested as rapidly as the courts could dispose of their cases. Bail in each instance was fixed at $10,000, and no sooner were the men released than they returned to their work with an undaunted spirit strange to witness. They agreed with their attorneys that this last move had resolved itself into a question involving the rights of every citizen of the Commonwealth, and at once began preparations for the final struggle. Sympathizers all over the country pronounced the new prosecution a persecution, and funds were quickly raised in Chicago and other large labor centers to defend the Advisory Board.

While attorneys Brennen and Cox were engaged in securing freedom for their clients, General Snowden, whose services had long since ceased, hunted up a reporter in Philadelphia, and, with painful pomposity, exclaimed:

"I am the man who suggested that these strikers be indicted for treason. I told Knox & Reed to do it, and they prepared the papers. As this is a serious question, and one that needed the very best talent in the country to pass upon, they submitted the documents for my approval. The punishment, I believe, is a heavy fine and long imprisonment. It ought be changed to death!"

How this abnormal militia officer loves his fellow men!

What a Christian spirit for Christ to welcome on the judgment day!

The grand jury, which had been rather promiscuous in its evolutions of indicting, was asked to look into the mirror of the opposition, and see whether some more informations were not entitled to be produced. Days of anxious inquiry passed, and the following well known citizens were notified that they must enter the courts of justice and prove themselves innocent of murder, treason, conspiracy, aggravated riot, and one or two minor offenses: Chairman Frick, Secretary Lovejoy, Superintendent Potter, Vice President Leishman, Robert and William Pinkerton, W. E. Corey, C. W. Beddell, W. H. Burt, John Cooper, F. W. Hinde, and others. These indictments, as time proved, were founded upon as substantial ground as those which had been served against the strikers. It is perhaps needless to add that the foregoing named individuals experienced no difficulty in obtaining bail.

Out at Homestead the Advisory Board was offering rewards for the apprehension of irresponsible parties who were scattering bombs indiscriminately and applying the torch to the big boarding houses. The detectives were too busily engaged (in hunting their shooting arms and manufacturing false evidence) to locate the bomb throwers and the fire-bugs. Furthermore, the Pinkertons knew that arrests of guilty parties would have a tendency to quiet affairs, and the enemies of the strikers would be relieved of some of the

ammunition employed to turn public opinion against the cause.

Notwithstanding the fact that the situation at Homestead was just as critical as at any period, the four companies of soldiers were ordered home, and they went. Some perverse individuals still have the temerity to insist that at no time was the militia absolutely essential. The sheriff simply increased his force of deputies, calling into requisition something like one hundred of the non-union men to serve in this capacity. The little handful of soldiers that had been sleeping peacefully at night and smarting under the hardship of remaining in camp all day, marched to the depot on the eleventh day of October, and kept time to "Home, Sweet Home." And they bade farewell to the hills and valleys, and homes and mills of Homestead.

It cost the State nearly a million dollars to prove that "man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn."

Just about this time two or three big political guns went off, and the Homestead trouble was from then on seditiously and energetically inserted into the National campaign. A monster Democratic parade was arranged for in Pittsburg, and the strikers were invited to participate. The cause of labor was well represented, and upon this occasion the key that unlocked the repository containing all the stereotyped demands for "a change," was duplicated and sent to all the manufacturing centers of the Union. The results are

not yet so aged as to require repetition in this connection.

From the great city of Chicago came word that within a week ninety thousand workmen would contribute each a day's wages for the benefit of the strikers and their cause. From the great city of New York came word that within a week Mr Carnegie's company would contribute a quarter of a million dollars for the benefit of the Republicans and their cause.* Each dollar contributed by the Chicago laboring men represented a vote one month later. Each dollar contributed by Mr Carnegie's company likewise represented a vote one month later. An analysis of the election returns indicated that the votes represented by the dollars alluded to were not cast in favor of the Republican party.

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*This charge was never proven. On the contrary, prominent Republicans asserted that the Carnegie company did not contribute a dollar for campaign purposes.

CHAPTER XXX.

Chief Justice Paxson's charge—Treason defined—Rights of employer and employe—The Amalgamated Association criticised—Review of the great strike—The law as written—Aliens amenable—Mob law *versus* organized resistance—Duty of the jurors—Choice between good government and anarchy—Enforcement of the law.

The charge to the grand jury in the Homestead treason cases was delivered by Chief Justice Paxson, of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, in the presence of a large audience. On the bench with him were Judges Stowe, Kennedy, McClung and Porter, of the county courts. After the jurors had answered to their names, Judge Kennedy, presiding in the criminal court, turned to them and said:

"Information has been made against a number of individuals for treason against the State. This is an unusual charge, and we deem it necessary that you should be instructed by one of the supreme court judges. At our request, Chief Justice Paxson has kindly consented to instruct you."

Judge Paxson informed the jury that the district attorney would lay before them at the present term one or more indictments charging certain parties with treason against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and then continued:

"In view of the gravity of the charge, the learned judges holding the present term of the court of oyer and terminer of this county have invited me to come in and give you some instructions as to the character of the offence and some advice in regard to it. * * *

"I would hesitate to act were it not that the situation is so grave, and, it is feared, the law so much misunderstood, that an authoritative exposition of it seemed necessary in the interests of good government. It having required the intervention of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, and of the entire military power of the State, to restore order, it was considered proper for those highest in position in the judiciary department of the government to declare the law in such manner that it may be clearly understood."

The chief justice then rehearsed the story of the disagreement between the men and the company that resulted in closing the doors of the works and discharging the men. In all this, he said, there was no violation of the law by anyone. The men had the right to demand what wages they saw fit and to refuse to go to work unless their demands were complied with. The company had the right to decline to employ the men upon

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the terms offered by them, and to employ others upon such terms as could be agreed upon. He detailed the actions of the Amalgamated Association, and said :

"It is part of the history of these events that the lodges composing the Amalgamated Association proceeded to organize what has been widely known as the advisory committee ; that this committee, organized by the appointment of a chairman, proceeded at once to take charge of affairs at Homestead ; that among its first acts was to order the mechanics, laborers, and other employes of the works, amounting to about three thousand, whose wages were not affected by the proposed change, and who had entered into a new agreement with the company, upon the terms of the old cotracts, to break their contracts, and refuse to work until the Amalgamated Association was recognized and its terms agreed to. Up to this point there had been no breach of peace ; the men had the right to refuse to work and to persuade others to refuse also.

"The law has no quarrel with labor organizations so long as they act peaceably and respect the rights of others ; on the contrary, while they keep within the law, they have the sympathy of all good citizens in every honest, manly effort to improve their condition. But the State of Pennsylvania will not permit these, or any other organizations, to trample upon the law and deny the right of other laborers not members of such asso-

ciation. It is alleged that the advisory committee did more than to induce others not to accept employment from the company; that it allowed no person to enter the mills of the Carnegie Steel Company, and even permitted no strangers to enter the town of Homestead without its consent; that it arranged an organization of a military character consisting of three divisions, with commanders, captains, etc., the captains to report to the division commanders, and the latter to report to the advisory committee; that a girdle of pickets was established, by which the works and town were guarded like a military encampment; that these pickets arrested every man who attempted to approach either the town or the works until he would give an account of himself satisfactory to the advisors of the committee; that all discussion of the wage question was positively prohibited; that all these and many other things were done to deprive the company of the use of its property and to prevent it from operating its works by the aid of men who were not members of the Amalgamated Association."

His Honor then reviewed the efforts of the sheriff to protect the property, the resistance of the strikers, the Pinkerton tragedy, and the final action of the Governor in calling out the militia and the establishment of armed law. He severely censured the men for "resorting to violence and bloodshed in the assertion of imaginary rights," and said:

" It was not a cry for bread to feed their famished lips ; the result of sudden outrage, with good provocation ; it was a deliberate attempt of men without authority to control others in the enjoyment of their rights. The existence of such a state of things in a government of law, indicates a weak spot somewhere. It is not in law itself. That is sufficient for the preservation of order ; all that is needed is its proper enforcement."

Here a brief definition of the duties and responsibility of the jurors was given, and then he continued :

" It is much to be feared that there is a diseased state of public opinion growing up with regard to disturbances of this nature, and an erroneous view of the law bearing upon these questions has found lodgment in the public minds. This is evident by the account of portions of the press, and it finds expression in the assurances of demagogues who pander to public prejudices and in the schemes of artful politicians. For men, who without a recognized grievance, trample upon the law and the rights of others, and yet have no sympathy for the outraged law or for the laborer who is beaten, and some times murdered, in his efforts to seek employment for the support of his family, the growth of this sentiment may be traced to some extent, and also to the addition of large numbers of foreigners to our labor population, many of whom are densely ignorant, as well as brutal in their disposition. They have false ideas in regard to the kind of lib-

erty we enjoy in this country, and it is needed that all such persons shall be taught the lesson that our liberty is the liberty of law and not the liberty of license. The present occasion requires me to define the law. I shall endeavor to do so clearly and so fully that there shall hereafter be no excuse for misunderstanding."

Then the chief justice stated the rights of the company to refuse all demands, reasonable or unreasonable, to protect its property in any manner it chose, to choose its watchmen from any source without regard to the wishes of either the strikers or the public, and said in regard to these watchmen:

"It was an act of unlawful violence to prevent their landing upon the property of the company. That unlawful violence amounted at least to a riot upon the part of all concerned in it: if life was taken in the pursuance of a purpose to resist the landing of the men by violence, the offense was murder and perhaps treason. I will speak of treason later on."

This was followed by a definition of what was lawful and unlawful for the laborer. He had the right to refuse to work unless his terms were complied with, as well as to persuade others to join in the refusal, but an attempt to control the property of others, or to use violence or threats to prevent other laborers from going to work, was a violation of the law. Neither a laborer, nor an organization of labor, would be allowed to coerce and use brutal violence in the attempt to prevent others from

working wherever and for whatever wage they chose or was offered. Protection under the laws of the State means protection for all citizens. There must be no distinction between laborer and capitalist.

"If," said Justice Paxson, "we were to concede the doctrine that the employe may dictate to his employer the terms of his employment, and upon the refusal of the latter to accede to them, to take possession of his property and drive away others who are willing to work, we would have anarchy."

An illustration in point was then given, with a view to impressing the jury with the illegality of such action. The subject of treason was then taken up:

"The offense of treason as defined by the first section of the act of March 31, 1860, is as follows: 'If any person owing allegiance to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania shall levy war against the same, or shall adhere to the enemies thereof giving them aid, and shall be thereof convicted upon confession in open court, or on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act of treason whereof he shall stand indicted, such person shall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of treason against the Commonwealth, and be sentenced to pay a fine not to exceed two thousand dollars and undergo an imprisonment by separate and solitary confinement at labor not exceeding twelve years.'"

Up to the present trial there had been no one prosecuted under this law, which, the Justice

pointed out fixed only the maximum punishment. It was also observed that treason was charged against the State, not the United States. A distinction was made between a lawless and disorganized mob, even though it resorted to bloodshed, and a body of men organized to defy the laws of the State and deprive any portion of their fellow citizens of the rights to which they are entitled under the constitution and laws.

"It is a state of war," Justice Paxson declared, "when a business plant has to be surrounded by the army of the State for weeks to protect it from unlawful violence at the hands of men formerly employed in it. Where a body of men have organized for a treasonable purpose, every step which any one of them takes in part execution of their common purpose, is an overt act of treason in levying war. Every member of such advisory committee, or by whatever name it is called, who has participated in such usurpation, who has joined in a common purpose of resistance to the law and denial of the rights of other citizens, has committed treason against the State."

The Justice here assured the jury that while the definition of this offense is the designing or the overthrow of the government, it also was meant to refer to any local effort to usurp authority. In criminal law a man was assumed to intend that which is the natural and probable consequence of his act. Aliens living in the State are amenable to its laws. The jury were instructed as to their

duties and told that they were not expected to try the accused parties, but to ascertain from the evidence whether they could be held for trial before a petty jury. If any of the defendants were found from the evidence to have committed, participated or aided in the acts defined as treason, it was their sworn duty to find a true bill against the offending parties or party. He then concluded by saying:

"We have reached the point in the history of the State where there are but two roads left to us to pursue, the one leads to order and good government, the other leads to anarchy.

"The one great question which concerns the people of this country is the enforcement of the law and the preservation of order."

CHAPTER XXXI.

The charge—Its influence on the trial—Armory plate—The Knights of Labor—Statements of an organ—Denials of an organization—Thousands unemployed—Changes of the steel company—Blaze in a boarding house—A business man's movement—Private Iams—Arraignment of militia officers—Motion to quash—Question of jurisdiction—Iams' story—A lost cause—An anonymous attack—Old and new officers—The finishers—Withdrawal—Affiliation.

Judge Paxson's charge was regarded as original as it was thought to be strong. It was suitable to the prosecution and distasteful to the defense. Its application to the indicted people representing the steel company and the Pinkerton agency was not anticipated by them at the time of its delivery, evidently. Its influence upon the trials may be judged from the acquittals that followed in rapid succession.

Coming upon the heels of this important document were complaints from Washington with reference to the armory plate under contract to be delivered by the Carnegie company. The government took official cognizance of the strike and was not disposed to push the company; but Chairman

Frick had declared in terse language that "the strike was a thing of the past," and Secretary of the Navy Tracy, so he said, could not understand why there should be any delay. The quality of the plate delivered was questioned, also, and the Knights of Labor, with a peculiar mixture of patriotism for their country and esteem for their fellow laborers, proposed to test the material designed for the great war ships, and learn, if possible, whether it was of sufficient excellence—and incidentally to satisfy the country at large as to the claims of the steel company that they had ample expert labor to turn out good work. Hugh Dempsey, whose dramatic connection with the alleged poisoning cases is yet in the public mind, was assigned to conduct this part of the plan. His ardent disposition soon asserted itself, making him an object of attack from the despicable "detective" element, and increasing the love of the laboring classes.

The strikers still maintained a solid front against great odds, proving every hour that they possessed the courage of heroes. Not even did they despond when the Local News, published at Homestead, came out in an editorial and stated that the great strike was dying out; that the company was gradually succeeding; that two thousand non-union men were at work in the mills; that two hundred of the old union men who went with the strikers had returned to work.

"No surrender!" was the cry, and the staunch ones began again their tireless efforts to keep the

ranks intact. They had a hard pull, but they were accustomed to that. They knew that ten thousand iron workers in and around Pittsburg and Homestead were out of employment, and that the wolf was about ready to do his share towards increasing the destitution of more than one family.

Several changes in the personnel of the executive departments of the works were made—presumably with a view to placating the strikers and inducing a general break. Superintendent Potter resigned his position and was promoted chief of the mechanical engineers of the steel company. Charles M. Schwab, always popular with the old men, was made general superintendent of the Homestead steel works. James Galey was appointed superintendent of the Edgar Thompson works, and D. G. Kerr was made superintendent of the furnace department of the latter named works. Whether these changes operated to hasten the climax cannot be known.

The Beaver Falls business men began to grow restless, and several meetings had been held to induce the sympathetic strikers to return to work. They protested against what they considered an unnecessary display of sympathy for the Homestead crowd, and asked the local iron workers to go back. Finally these business men met and resolved to offer the Carnegie company whatever protection was necessary to get their mills in good running order once again.

The grand jury, accommodating body, had returned indictments of aggravated assault and battery and assault against Colonel Alexander Hawkins, Lieutenant James B. R. Streator and Surgeon William Grim. The informations had been sworn to by Private W. L. Iams, the young man whose enthusiasm led him into trouble by shouting his sentiments when the murderous assault was made upon Mr Frick. The three military gentlemen were arraigned in the Criminal Court on October 27, and young Iams appeared as gay and fresh as ever.

Counsel for defense argued a motion to quash, but were overruled by Judge Porter. Then they brought up the question of jurisdiction, arguing that a civil court had no right to interfere with the execution of orders of military officers when engaged in active military service. Inasmuch as indictments are rarely ever quashed, and in view of the fact that the court was not attempting to interfere with the execution of an order that long ago had been executed, the court quietly decided to give the youthful ex-soldier, (who recently had kept such excellent time to the inspiring tune known as "The Rogue's March,") a chance to show how severely the colonel, lieutenant and doctor should be punished.

Iams was put upon the stand and repeated the story already rehearsed in these pages. He passed through a most rigid cross-examination, and stood that ordeal very well. He was allowed to intro-

duce witnesses whose testimony was frequently doubted as having relevancy to the case, and afforded every opportunity to win his point. Alas, the stubborn laws of the land governing such matters would not admit of a conviction, and the defendants were discharged. As General Snowden puts it, in his report, "a full trial in open court showed the features of the case to have been greatly exaggerated to the community, and resulted in a verdict of acquittal at the hands of a jury of the county, and the law as laid down justifies an officer in an emergency, in time of riot or rebellion, actual war, as this was, in using extreme measures to preserve discipline, when not actuated by malice but honestly exercising a conscientious judgment."

Much trouble had emanated from the fact that deputy sheriffs were making arrests daily at Homestead without first serving warrants, and upon two or three occasions serious difficulties were avoided only by mere chance. A local attorney made quite a spread-eagle oration in a justice's court on this point, and subsequently was taken before a higher tribunal for uttering the inflammatory remarks. Deputy sheriffs were constantly being hampered by the municipal authorities, and vice versa. Sheriff McCleary finally concluded to increase his force once more, and the action had a salutory effect, although street and bar room fights continued to be of frequent occurrence. What else could have been expected under the circumstances?

An anonymous attack was made upon William Weihe, President of the Amalgamated Association, in which his integrity was impugned, his motives questioned, and his sincerity doubted. So infamous were these charges that President Weihe felt it incumbent to make a public statement, in which he asserted that at no time in the history of the struggle had the strikers' interests been overlooked; that never had there been a moment when the Advisory Board could not rely upon the hearty co-operation of the association; that the Board had never made an unreasonable request, nor a dishonorable one; that its actions had been of the wisest and most patriotic character, and that, so far as he was concerned, officially or personally, the strikers' fight would be made subservient to all other questions.

The Advisory Board at once corroborated President Weihe's words, and requested members of the association to pay no further attention to reports of any kind, but to stand firm and pull together. Three days from this time President Weihe withdrew and M. M. Garland was elected to fill the vacancy. John C. Killgallon was made secretary.

The iron and steel finishers, who had been attending meetings for some time, at which the question of organizing under another head had been discussed freely, arrived at the point where their interests seemed to be in a different direction, and they accordingly made a change. They left the Amalgamated Association and affiliated with

the Finishers' Union of the Iron and Steel Workers of the United States. One of their avowed purposes in this new affiliation was to avoid unnecessary strikes and prevent matters of small moment from affecting their positions in mills. The writer will be pardoned for confining his criticisms to other subjects with which he is more familiar, and leaving this question to be discussed by those who understood it and were vitally interested in it.

Up to this period the strikers as a body had been compact, and the small percentage of dissatisfied men and women was looked upon with indifference. The leaders must have seen the hand-writing upon the wall, but at this late day they contend that they had the faith of their convictions, and believed that victory would eventually be theirs. How well they impressed this upon the masses the contents of this book testify. Every device known to mankind had been used in increasing efforts to break the ranks and cause a stampede. Something besides appeals must have operated to prevent the chain from becoming unlinked. A great cause was in the balance, and in their humble way the army of poor Hungarians and Slavs understood it. Tranquility had been transformed into distrust, and a nation's pride—its labor—had been put to the blush of shame. The unconscious dignity of loneliness, stamped upon each heart, taught a lesson that must have left an indelible imprint upon the world. No State in this Union should feel more

proud of its citizens than Pennsylvania, and, although some people disagree with the strikers and condemn their methods, it must be confessed that they felt the justice of their cause, and so feeling, they discharged their obligation when they stood in need of the common necessities of life. Fair return for labor is due such men, and when that is given, the world will grow tranquil and remain so. Remove the hope for such a time and civilization will be changed into savagery.

CHAPTER XXXII.

An eventful and a fatal month—Mutterings of the mechanics—A big break—Schwab's influence felt—Heads of departments secured—A partial resumption—Crisis at hand—Important meetings—Assigning skilled workmen—A small riot—Killing of Coyne—A long meeting—Arrival of attorneys—The end is near—Strike declared off—The breaking forces—"We surrender"—Great battles—Senatorial investigation—Trial of Critchlow—A loyal and gallant struggle—Also, a successful one—A silvery-tongued orator—Able counsel—Trials of O'Donnell, Clifford et al—Independence—Vindication.

November will always be remembered by the world as an eventful month, and by the strikers as a fatal one. Early in the month those who had been employed in the mechanical department began to show restlessness and there were threats of a break. They were not members of the Amalgamated Association and were free to act as they chose. Their sympathetic sacrifice in walking out early in the summer, to them meant a great loss of wages and perhaps of positions. They wanted to get back and nearly a score followed the bent of their inclinations. Superintendent Schwab had been busy among them and induced quite a num-

WILLIAM REARDON.

ber of heads of departments to return. A dozen skilled workmen were assigned to their old positions in the rod mill—others soon followed. This crippled the association and was the signal for a general stampede later on.

To make matters worse, negroes, non-union men and strikers got into an altercation and a small-sized riot was the result. The negroes, always dangerous in a fight, pulled the weapons they never should have been permitted to carry, and shot right and left into a crowd, wounding three persons. Then the crowd followed them to their lodging house and threatened lynching. It was only by a great effort that the officers succeeded in rescuing them and in locking them up.

Max Newman, a Hebrew, shot and killed Pat Coyne. The Hebrew was awakened in the middle of the night by Coyne, who got into the wrong room, and mistaking the intruder for an enemy, Newman shot him in the head.

During these excitements the Advisory Board held secret meetings, which meetings were accompanied by some equally secret by the Amalgamated Association. They discussed the new feature introduced by the action of the mechanics, and tried to prevent a surrender from that quarter. The Board's efforts availed naught, for upon the same date (November 18) that Critchlow's trial began, the strike was declared off so far as the ex-workers in the mechanical department were concerned. They went to the mills and

applied for work, but the association asked them not to touch a tonnage job. The laborers who had followed the mechanics out, followed them back, and two thousand men clamored for work. Some of them were too late, the company refusing to discharge the non-union men who had proven themselves competent. Chairman Frick and his subordinates registered inside of twenty-four hours, one thousand applications.

The next day the three Beaver Falls lodges of the Amalgamated Association declared that sympathy strike at an end, and nine hundred men, who, four months previously had refused to offer a hand, now hastened to their posts. Less than seventy-two hours subsequently the Lawrenceville strikers declared that they were ready to go to work. Thomas Crawford announced his resignation as chairman of the Advisory Board, stating that he had accepted a position in the Columbian Iron and Steel Works at Uniontown, Pennsylvania, and then the Advisory Board dissolved.

"We surrender with both hands up!" exclaimed William Gaches, treasurer.

Hugh O'Donnell, from the dark recesses of the county jail, wrote to the Evening Leader:

"Great battles are rarely ever fought the way they are planned!"

The Amalgamated Association served notice that union men would be permitted to return to work in the mills; and thus ended the most memorable struggle between capital and labor that the

world has ever seen. Let us hope it may never witness another like it.

The Senatorial investigation, under the guiding hand of United States Senator Peffer, opened at Chicago, during which reputable citizens testified that they would not believe a Pinkerton under oath. The investigation was transferred to Pittsburg where the evidence already contained in these pages was repeated, and then the committee proceeded to New York and Washington. Inasmuch as "the swellest club in this world" never evolved much good out of the report, it is probably as well to class the Senatorial effort with the one that emanated from the Congressional Committee which is done with the reflection that these committees would be exasperating if they were not so amusing.

All eyes now turned towards the stately court house up on the hill, in the city of Pittsburg, where the trial of Sylvester Critchlow was in progress. He was being tried for murder, the obliging grand jury, as before recorded, having returned a true bill against him. Judges Kennedy and McClung were upon the bench, and the array of legal talent on each side afforded the public material for conjecturing that the fight would be stubbornly, bitterly, brilliantly, gallantly and thoroughly contested.

The prosecution was represented by District Attorney Burleigh and his assistant, young Mr Goehring, D. F. Patterson, John S. Robb, E. Y. Breck and P. C. Knox.

The prisoner was defended by William J. Brennen, John F. Cox, Thomas M. Marshall, Sr, Major Montooth, all of Pittsburg, and W. W. Erwin, of St Paul, and George W. Argo, of Sioux City. The two last named gentlemen, as we have said, had been sent here by the laboring people of the great Northwest. Their confidence was well placed.

Attorney Brennen argued a motion to quash on the grounds that the grand jury had not been impartially drawn. District Attorney Burleigh called attention to the fact that the defendant had already pleaded to the indictment, and the court, taking the same view, overruled the motion of the defense, and the trial proceeded.

The evidence of the prosecution centered upon the ability of the Pinkerton guards to identify the prisoner as one of the strikers who had done the shooting. "Detectives" Burt, Connors and Mally, according to the verdict, perjured themselves, or, likely, the jury, composed of twelve good and loyal citizens, on general principles, declined to believe the stories of these men.

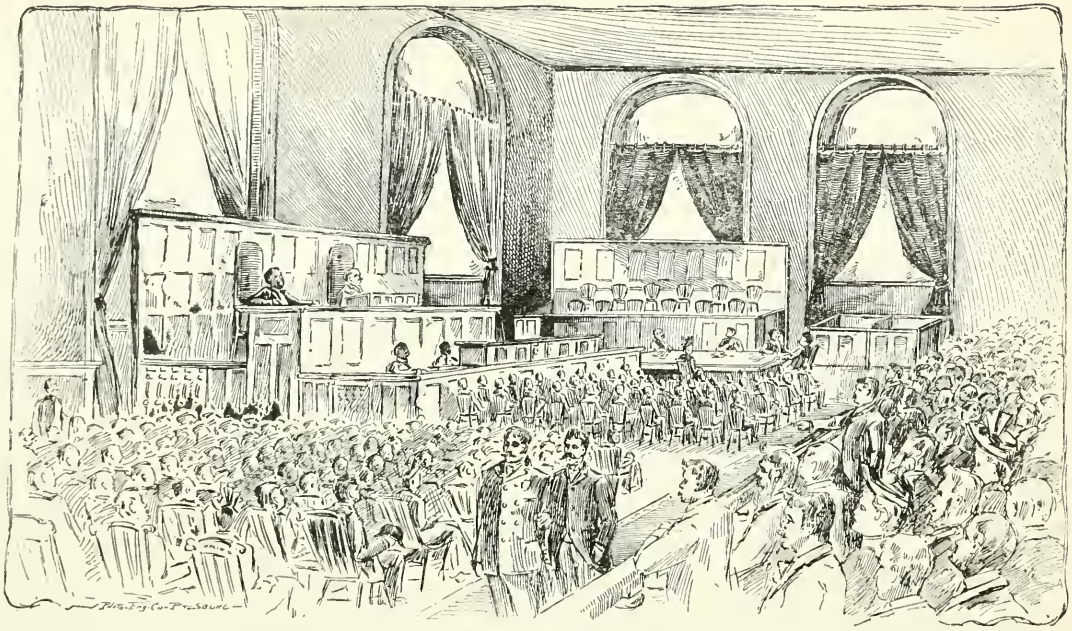
The testimony of the defense went to establish an alibi, and the verdict, "innocent," pretty clearly proved that the defense succeeded in their efforts. Many of the facts contained in this his-

tory corroborate the testimony brought out in the trial.

That the prosecution had a weak case is evidenced from the fact that as soon as the Commonwealth rested, wagers were freely made that a verdict of acquittal would be rendered. Scarcely an attorney in the land, who had kept track of the testimony, could be found whose opinion was not in accord with this assertion; while the general public, always good lawyers, better judges, and invariably excellent gamblers, felt that Critchlow would be proven innocent of the charge. On the first ballot the jury stood nine for acquittal and three for involuntary manslaughter. A short time thereafter they agreed upon acquittal, and their verdict was applauded by the whole civilized world.

The pleas and arguments of the attorneys on both sides were remarkable efforts. Especially may this be said of Messrs Brennen, Cox, Marshall, Montooth, and Erwin. The latter gentleman, in the course of a speech to the jury, said:

"Laws both divine and human are intended for man's good. Sometimes the laws of man prohibit the laws of God. Man's primary duty is to his God—next it is to his country. The courts—all branches of courts—the judges on the bench, the jurors, the prosecuting attorney with limited power, the listening public, the distributing press, all must be guided by conscience, but it must be the conscience you first knew when saying your



COURT ROOM—WAITING FOR THE VERDICT.

prayers at your mother's knees. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania stands on this grand basis. Carnegie bent the eternal laws of God and the poorer imitations by man. We will show that the defendants only tried to straighten these laws. If there is no Judas Iscariot among you, gentlemen of the jury, you will plant the flag of Independence on your hills."

The Pittsburg Times, in referring to Mr Erwin, said :

"Mr Erwin was a northwestern whirlwind at the start. He was then a surprise, and next he was a revelation. His wonderful facial expressions were as eloquent as his silvery voice, which flowed like a meadow brook at times, and again like Niagara's roaring cataract, as if in his own home he had trained it to drown the roar of the Falls of St Anthony. The strategy of the prosecution to lead the defense into a by-path, failed. Mr Erwin stuck to the highroad and tramped defiantly along the highest part of it."

A few weeks later Jack Clifford and Hugh O'Donnell were tried. The former's defense was based upon the same lines as was that of Critchlow, while O'Donnell's counsel adduced evidence to conclusively prove that he was a non-participant. Both men were found not guilty, and the failure of the State to convict caused all other prosecutions to be dropped.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The alleged poisoning cases—Hugh F. Dempsey and Robert Beatty tried on a most serious charge—A Pinkerton detective plays an important part in the prosecution—Gallagher and Davidson, two river cooks, claim they were hired to poison non-union workmen —Found guilty by a State's jury—Gallagher confesses that he perjured himself, and then retracts again.

It was fitting that the great Homestead tragedy should have terminated as it did in a most profound sensation—the prosecution of Hugh F. Dempsey for alleged poisoning.

Dempsey was serving his second term as Master Workman of District Assembly No. 3, Knights of Labor, being widely and favorably known among a large number of friends and acquaintances both in Pittsburg and elsewhere. He was not interested in the Homestead strike. The labor organization with which he was identified was in no manner connected with the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, but he was arrested, tried and found guilty of the charge of having attempted to poison a number of the non-union workmen employed by the Carnegie company at the Homestead plant.

The months of August and September were extremely hot; the sewerage system in and about the works of the company at Homestead was poor; the general drinking water not of the best; and many of the new steel workers were unaccustomed to the class of work which they were learning. They were all fed in enormous temporary dining rooms erected on the river bank by the company for the exigency of the occasion, and their general habits of life were new, although the quality of edibles furnished by the concern was most excellent. And there was much sickness among the men employed in the Homestead plant. This was the subject of much comment at the time, but the Carnegie attorneys, aided by the Pinkerton detectives, furnished the country at large a nine day's sensation when they caused several arrests, on account of the charge that the sick men had been poisoned.

Robert F. Beatty was arrested December 11 at Louisville, Kentucky, and brought to Pittsburg to face the charge that he had caused the non-union workmen to be poisoned, information having been lodged against him to that effect by J. H. Ford, a Pinkerton detective. The charge alleged that in September he had hired one of the cooks at the mills, Patrick Gallagher, to administer poison to the men in their coffee and tea. It appeared that this same Gallagher had made a confession implicating Beatty and Hugh F. Dempsey, charging the latter with having hired himself and one J. M.

Davidson through the medium of Beatty to poison the non-union workmen.

The defendants in this remarkable case offered no particular defense at the preliminary examination before Alderman McMasters, of Pittsburg, but at the regular trial before the Quarter Sessions Court of Allegheny county, January 16, 1893, entered a general denial.

Gallagher was the chief witness for the prosecution. He testified that he had been a river cook for twenty years, and that in company with Davidson, a river steward, he had been taken by Beatty one day in August to Dempsey's office in Pittsburg where the pair were hired to administer poison to the men working in the Homestead mills. According to his story, he and his partner, Davidson, were to secure employment in the kitchen at the mills, and to dose the coffee and tea from time to time with a powder to be furnished them by the defendants. For this service the men were to receive in addition to what they might earn at Homestead indefinite compensation from Dempsey. According to his tale Gallagher, having secured employment there, proceeded to Homestead, where he put certain powders, which had been furnished him by Dempsey, in the tea and coffee of the workmen. Davidson went to work in a similar capacity a fortnight later than Gallagher, and after the latter's arrival in Homestead the former left, turning over the stock of poison on hand to his successor, who was to continue the nefarious work. Gallagher

claimed that for his services Dempsey had paid him various small amounts of money, and at one time had given him twenty-five dollars, receipt of the latter sum having been acknowledged in writing. He further swore that after he left the mills other cooks were wanted to go up there for the same purpose, and the advisability of sending him to Cincinnati to hire them was considered, but at the last moment Beatty was sent instead. His testimony showed that there was much sickness in the mills, and sought to prove that it was caused by these mysterious powders which he charged Dempsey with having given him.

Davidson made a similar statement. The key to the prosecution lay in the evidence offered by J. H. Ford, a Pinkerton detective, when examined before Alderman McMasters at the preliminary hearing. This witness testified that he had first wrested admissions from Gallagher and Davidson that they had poisoned the food at Homestead, and then hired a room in the same building as that of the confessors, where Beatty was brought one night. Then the subject of the poisoning was alleged to have been broached, and on the matter Beatty talked quite freely, according to the Pinkerton's story, he having overheard most of what was said. It was a Pinkertonian prosecution throughout, and according to the claims of the pair, Gallagher and Davidson had been promised immunity from punishment if they would make these "confessions." If such a bargain was made, the

developments of the trials of Dempsey and Beatty showed how rudely the confessors had been duped.

The prosecution offered in evidence a vast amount of expert testimony by physicians of more or less prominence. Some testified that the men who had taken sick at the mills had typhoid fever, others claimed that they had suffered from dysentery, while others avowed that the symptoms of the sick men whom they attended showed conclusively that there had been drastic poisoning. One doctor from Baltimore even admitted that he had been paid $500 for coming to Pittsburg to testify in the cases. At any rate the expert testimony was diverse and even conflicting, as is usual in such cases. The other principal witness for the prosecution was one Charles McKinney, another river steward, who claimed to have been approached by Beatty and Gallagher, the former endeavoring to employ the witness to go to Homestead for the purpose of poisoning the men. According to his evidence he refused on account of the risky nature of the job.

The attorneys for Dempsey and Beatty made a very clean defense. They admitted hiring Davidson and Gallagher to go to Homestead, but for the express object of learning the number of men employed, and the degree of success with which the company was meeting in its endeavor to run the big plant with unskilled labor. Their action was inspired by a request from the headquarters of the Knights of Labor in New York for accurate infor-

mation concerning the exact status of the strike, it being claimed at the time that the Carnegie people were daily sending out rose-colored reports of their success in operating the plant at Homestead without the assistance of any of the strikers. Mr Dempsey proved a good witness in his own behalf. He showed that the money claimed to have been paid Gallagher was a loan to help out the recipient when the latter's household effects were in danger of being seized for debt. He testified to the employment of others beside the prosecuting witnesses for the purpose of getting the desired data, some of whom had been successful, while others were not. Beatty's mission to Cincinnati, claimed by Gallagher to be for the purpose of hiring more cooks, was clearly shown to have been for the object of engaging men unknown about Pittsburg to enter the mills as laborers in order to get at the true condition of the fight on the company's side of the fence.

The prosecution failed utterly to prove that there had been actual cases of poisoning; they failed to prove that Dempsey or Beatty had given the alleged poisoning powders to either Gallagher or Davidson; they failed to show where these alleged poisoning powders had been obtained or what had become of the unused powders. The defendants produced witnesses to prove that their characters had always been of the very best, while the records of those upon whose evidence the prosecution was based were exhibited in an unenviable light.

Nevertheless convictions were secured by the State, Dempsey and Beatty each being sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in the penitentiary, while Gallagher and Davidson got seven and five years respectively. It was generally believed at the time that the men were the innocent victims of persecution. The opinion prevailed that the evidence produced against the men was not sufficiently weighty to justify finding the verdict of guilty; and not a few felt that the jury was composed of persons secured by the district attorney exercising the legal right to stand aside jurors, thus obtaining men whose opinions were adverse to the defendants. Further than this the natural sentiment against poisoning was thought to have operated very readily and strongly upon the minds of the jury thus selected, and practically called for a conviction. The verdict was altogether received with marked disapproval in and about Pittsburg where both the defendants were known, and their innocence was practically established by the prince of confessors, Gallagher, who startled the world six months later by admitting that he was a perjurer.

In the middle of July following the trial, he sent in great haste for Mr Louis K. Porter, Dempsey's counsel, and said that he had a confession to make. According to his assertion his mind had been so conscience striken since he had sworn away the liberty of innocent men that he could not sleep. He made a confession, which he signed

after it had been reduced to writing. In this document he admitted himself to be a perjurer, swore that the entire case against Dempsey had been trumped up by the Pinkertons who had promised himself and Davidson security from punishment if they would so testify as to convict the two men.

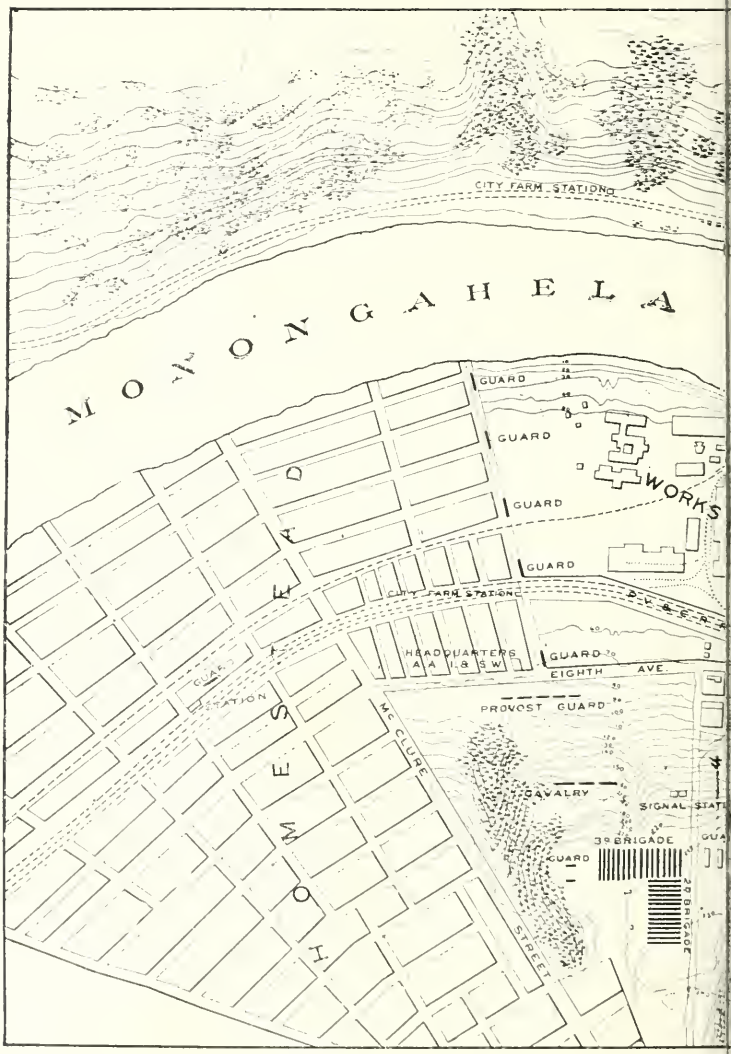
The confession was at once published, and steps taken to have the innocent prisoners released from custody. Davidson also made admissions that Gallagher's confession was true.

On the next day Gallagher received a letter from his wife, warning him of the consequences of the step he had just taken, picturing the punishment for perjury, which, in a case like this, would be most severe. So on the third day the versatile Mr Gallagher turned again, making the claim that his "confession" was bogus. This left the public mind in a very uncertain, state so far as Gallagher was concerned, but it did not in any way injure Dempsey in the standing of the people at large.

Ninety per cent, of the people in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, believed that Dempsey and Beatty were innocent of the charges on which they were convicted, and thousands signed petitions to the Pardon Board, praying that executive clemency be extended them.

Gallagher, guilty of innumerable offenses, was wisely made by the jury to suffer the same punishment as the men whom he deprived of their precious liberty. Davidson, with an unsavory record, suffered alike. In a few days after the trials they

were lost to memory, but influences are still working in behalf of the innocent men, whose liberty, it is hoped, will soon be procured.



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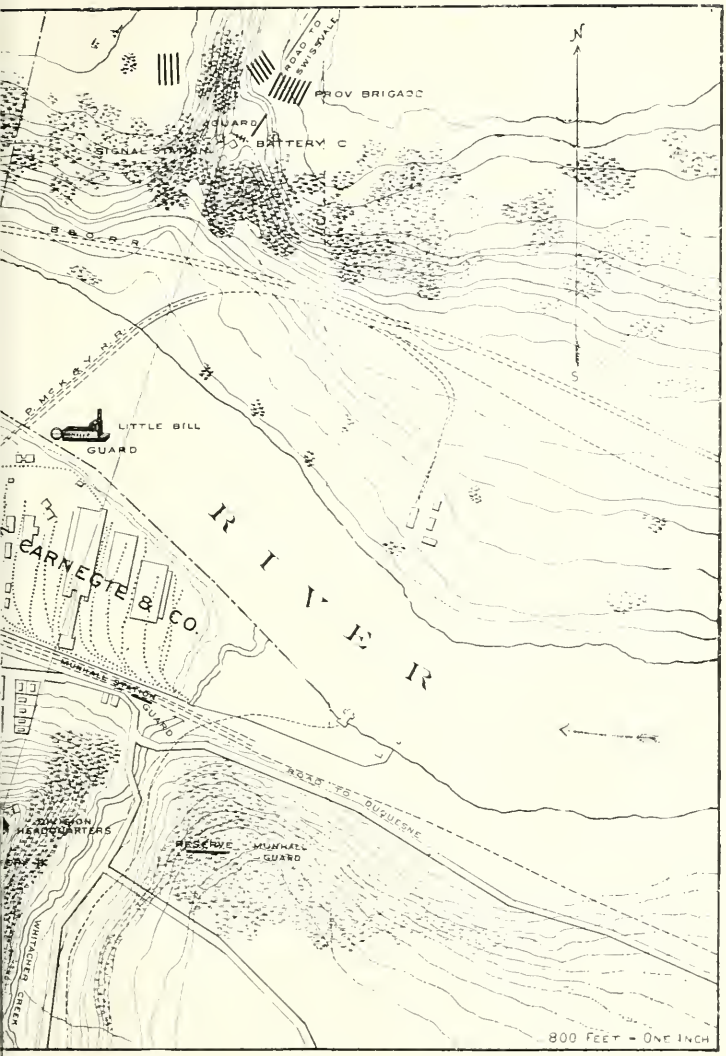
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GUARD
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DIVISION HEADQUARTERS
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SPEECH OF W. W. ERWIN, NOV. 22, 1892.

(CLOSING THE DEFENSE.)

May it please the court: For the counsel for defense, for Mr Argo and myself, I desire to thank you for the fair, impartial and dignified manner in which you have presided in this case. May you live long to fill a sacred place on the bench.

Continuing, he said:—Lawyers consider the trial of cases as great battles. Instead of treating them with calm adjudication as you should, they often use the arts permitted by the latitude of the courts to acquit or correct, and so you have just witnessed an attempt to carry your consciences by storm. If he has succeeded, then there is no use for us to say a word. But I don't think the address has had much effect. In the quiet of the jury room, you won't be swayed by plausible eloquence.

You must try the case according to the law and the facts. If the true causes that led to the conflict at Homestead are not before you except as rises from presumption, I hold it extremely unfortunate for the Republic, this State and City. When the news of the Homestead riot was flashed all over the world; after the applause of enthusiastic admiration for the noble resistance had passed away, the world paused for the judicial inquiry, and the world to-day waits at the other end of the wires to see how it has been done.

CONFINED CLOSELY TO THE ISSUE.

You are now put into a narrow place, iron-bound by the testimony. You can presume nothing but what is legally permissible in the courts of justice. We, the defense, are not responsible for this contraction. A man in these events is not permitted to defend himself against the testimony adduced. That rule is so strong that if evidence were put in to show that one of you fired the fatal shot, the court would not permit you to prove that somebody else did it. Courts havn't time to try anything except the issues presented. We would like to open the case wider, but we are not permitted.

I am not here to befog your minds, to storm down your consciences. I am here to help you honestly. I would not be in your places for the world. Duty alone would force me into that jury box to try a man for his life.

There must not be a shadow of a doubt in your minds that Critchlow is guilty. Some one has said that the law stands around a man like a great protecting shield of innocence, and the prosecution must pile up evidence on it until its very weight bends him backward to the ground. It is better for the country that ninety-nine guilty persons should go free than that one innocent man should be punished. When your intuitions are so aroused that you do not feel the guilt, there is a reasonable doubt. So sacred is life and liberty that we require of him who accuses that the evidence shall be such that every juror feels he is right when he gives his opinion. As some of you recently served in another murder trial I will not waste your time stating the limitations that surround you and the presumptions of evidence.

LIMITED BY PROSECUTION.

Last July there rang out on the shores of Homestead the sound of a battle. You can't presume that there was discontent or a strike in the town. That is not in evidence. Here we were limited by the prosecution.. We were not permitted to show that this man Frick purchased arms and sent a foreign force to invade the town. It was read from the books this morning that every man who had a gun that day was responsible.

I point you to the Constitution of your State and country to show that the people always have the right to bear arms in self-defense. You know there were crowds of men, women and children on the shore of the river, but you don't know it from the evidence. That you can only infer. You know that the men on the boats did not live in the State. You do not know, and there is not a particle of evidence to show that they were watchmen. In narrowing the scope of the investigation the prosecution forgot to bring out the commonest things necessary for your information. I challenge you to show me in the evidence where it appears that the Pinkertons were guardians. Nothing was said about the bank around Homestead or whose shore it was, but you do know that on the bank of that river were gathered the common people. You know, too, that the cloven foot that provoked this insurrection was carefully hidden from you. The testimony in this case does not show it. You only know that the blackest name in this country under the flag is Frick. You only know that Frick, whoever he may be, placed armed men on the barges that went to Homestead. You don't know why he did it, unless you go on the stand and testify to it.

There is nothing in the evidence to explain this most unwarranted, treasonable act. You only know that the boats were supplied with men, arms and food by this great quartermaster Frick. You do not know how he justifies his conduct. His object must have been so black that he did not bring it out in his evidence. Isn't that important?

The great question that you must ask yourself is, was this battle at Homestead a riot or an authorized invasion. If you answer that it was an invasion without excuse, that is the end of it, for the people never delegated away their rights to resist armed invasion. It needs no mandate of the court; no sheriff to hoist the flag. I don't see how you can escape from this position, that whatever was done at Homestead was done in resisting armed invasion. I would like to have gone into the authority and character of the Pinkertons, but that is denied us. All you can see is that Frick armed foreign-born men, foreign to your State, steered them stealthily by night past your city, and they fired upon the men, women and children of Homestead. The learned gentleman who tried to carry you by storm, neglected to state these preliminaries before the gale began. He tried to blow the gale himself, and became the personification of a riotous person in voice and gesture before you. He neglected to say to you that if Frick had not sent armed men to Homestead there never would have been a riot. He winks at you and expects you to infer that. Great God! Did our fathers at Lexington infer that they were oppressed?

The presumption is that the people always act right and you are bound by it. Unless there is some proof there that the people were wrong, you

are bound by it. How much safer is it to presume that your people were right rather than the armed invaders. Since they have left that to presumption, you should follow your patriotic feelings.

A RIOT OR AN INVASION.

Now under the evidence was it a riot or an invasion? The right of the people to the shore of the river can't be denied. They were justified in resisting. Frick may have had some reason, but the State has not brought it forward. What Frick may have thought at the time was a reason that might not work before a jury now. Men often do things for self aggrandizement that they are ashamed of afterward, and are afraid to bring out in court; reasons that would convict them of the crime that they are trying to saddle upon others, and that is murder. I don't think it is necessary for me to whip up your patriotic feelings.

You must determine whether this invasion was unauthorized or not. The people should not only have shot the Pinkertons down on the shore; they should have followed them on the boats, to their hearthstones, before the altar, and if it were possible, to cross the line that divides the living from the dead, they should have passed over and shot them on the burning bosom of the Prince of Hell.

Suppose now you differ from me. Suppose you say that it was not a foreign invasion and the people hadn't the right to resist. Then was this riot of such a character as to hold the armed men on the shore responsible for their acts? Is the evidence such as to make every armed man on the shore guilty of murder? Now notice. The people on the shore had the same right of self-defense as a single individual. There were three hundred

invaders from the slums of Chicago, Philadelphia and New York—the thugs of the cities.

ARMED WITH WINCHESTER RIFLES.

They were armed with one hundred and fifty Winchester rifles, the worst death-dealing weapon that the Genius of the Republic has invented, sixteen bullets in each one. The others had clubs and revolvers. They were in charge of captains and sub-captains, men who had bartered away their honor and judgment. The formation of their army and the firing upon the unauthorized word of an officer show the utter abandonment of citizenship. The marauders conducted an organized and outrageous war in defiance of all law. Who opposed them? The people. Were the people at the gang-plank the ones who fired the shots at the boat further down the river? Is there any evidence to hold them at the landing responsible for what others had done before? If there was a common design, the Public Prosecutor would have shown it. This would have proved whether Frick or the people are the murderers.

We can't defend except what they put in issue.

Captain Coon was there. The young men cried out: "Keep away, you scabs!" There were no scabs on the boat.

The people were not there to resist organized watchmen.

The point has not been put in evidence whether the places of the men, who built this magnificent city, should be taken by the paupers of Hungary. That was wisely avoided by the prosecution. The boy who was shot on the plank begged to go on the boat to see who was on it. This is the position of the two parties.

THE CHARACTER OF THE WITNESSES.

Next let us look at the character of the witnesses. On the side of the State are Captain Cooper, Burt, Connors and Captain Rodgers, the man who hired his boat to this unlawful enterprise. The first three are detectives. What is a detective? He is a man who can't make a living at the ordinary avocations of life. He hasn't wit enough to earn his bread by the sweat of his face. He has a burning for notoriety and prefers to hunt his fellow man rather than work for a living like honest people. In the days of tyrants detectives and informers were hired to lie and do dirty work. We have heard of men torn from their homes and thrown into prison by their testimony. You have an antipathy for these hyenas. In this country you can't find enough Pinkertons to carry that jury with their slop testimony. This is a State founded by Quaker conscience, and it stands around that wife to-day like a great iron band. Remember that Cooper and Burt now stand indicted for what they did at the landing. Remember how much they stretched the truth to prevent your people from stretching their necks. If they were not opposed, I wouldn't believe them any how. But they are opposed by Captain Coon, Mrs Mansfield and others; people who live here and whose character is known. We can't impeach the reputation of Cooper and Burt, for they come from other States and we don't know them. If our witnesses were disreputable, your splendid District Attorney would soon show them up. These men testify that the first shot came from the boats and was fired at the people on the bank. Remember that a crowd has the right to do the same thing in self-defense as the individual. Dynamite and oil could

be rained on this unman-fearing and unconscionable crowd of Pinkertons.

RIGHT TO SHOOT.

Now for the defendant: Is there any evidence to show that Critchlow countenanced the resistance? Is it known who shot Connors? You do know that your own people were shot down and killed. We are working under the most stilted economy. The moment you know who fired the shot, and that there was no conspiracy among the people at the plank, the right of those on the shore to shoot continued. Political laws are silent when arms are raised. People in insurrections are always anxious to be recognized by foreign governments. You speak of cooling time! According to Captain Cooper's testimony, he stopped shooting because he had no more port-holes. The people had driven the cowards into their holes. [Laughter]. The only reason why the Pinkertons did not wallow in the blood of the people was because of the magnificent resistance. There were only eight rifles behind the barricade and three hundred in the boat. Think of the absolute cowardice of men with three hundred rifles against eight! Such effrontery is only equaled by their cringing fear. Cooper says they shot at every head. Why, that magnificent volunteer witness, Stewart, told a perfidious lie.

It stands out boldly. Did you ever see a little squirt come in and look around for the purpose of testifying? Ah, that boy can tell a lie, and you find him in the pay of Frick. On his word would you convict? Oh, no, that game is up.

Counsel on the other side stand here and say:

"Why didn't Critchlow say on the stand that he did not carry a gun?" Why didn't you ask him?

He was there to answer. [Laughter]. You didn't dare. His honest Roman face shows what he is. We have had enough of your windy sophistry.

HERO OF THE FUTURE.

I havn't any heart to speak of the alibi. The boy who received fifteen bullets in his clothes will be more of a hero in time to come than your sacred man Frick. But I am ordered to go over the testimony. How many witnesses were on the ground? Only two. Stewart is the first of this magnificent observation corps of the battle. They recalled Joseph Malley, a Pinkerton. I don't know whether he is under indictment or not. If he isn't he ought to be. Dickson, Hervey, Slocum and Reese are witnesses who saw him with a gun. Well, now you saw the thick tongued artist from New York, his hair parted in the middle. So bland to the Prosecuting Attorney and so sarcastic to the other side. He was so precise in his testimony because some man, Mr Mansfield, I believe, pointed out a Critchlow. Do you think he was a fair witness? Well, Mr Mansfield comes on the stand and says he pointed to another Critchlow. This man who draws pictures of Robinson Crusoe for New York papers betrayed by his conduct in the witness box, the falsity of his testimony. There is no evidence to kill. A volunteer witness like Stewart can't be very accurate when he crouches behind a barricade on account of the balls and takes note of men who are shooting. Notice how precise he is. He speaks of the time from 1:36 to 3:45 in the afternoon. His very exactness makes him incredible under the exciting circumstances. Now take the evidence on the other side.

Here Mr Erwin read the alibi testimony. Continuing, he said:

Who are these people? They are not relatives, they are not interested. Here are fifteen witnesses, comprising police officers, neighbors and others, who testify to the alibi. It would be impossible for these men to fabricate. The testimony covers such a variety of interests Every witness fits in and makes the evidence stronger. Even the great Pinkerton with his trained lieutenants couldn't invent such a chain of evidence. The fact is that the Critchlow on trial was not the Critchlow on the bank. It was another man. I congratulate you that whatever may have been the rights of the people on the bank that morning, the testimony shows that the Critchlow here is the wrong man and your duty is simple. Promptly acquit him.

In the jury room don't let any expression of mine, made in the honesty of my heart, to reflect against my client. Your splendid District Attorney tried this case well. He took the best possible position, and his attitude was such as to make you bend your consciences to convict. If you write guilty on your ballots, you tear him from his wife and children. Let these thoughts be with you in all your deliberations. Responsible is your situation, and I want to thank you for your respectful attention. I leave my client with you, but you, I leave you in the hands of God.

THE MILITIA.

In his official report of the Homestead campaign, Major-General Snowden, speaking of the conduct of the soldiers, says:

"The inspections were conducted in the presence of the Commander-in-Chief, by the Adjutant and Inspector Generals, with celerity, promptness and the usual necessary close attention to details. Owing to the extremely hot weather which prevailed a large part of the time at Homestead, drills were omitted to some extent and camp guards reduced or relieved in daytime. The lesson taught in the camps heretofore held produced the desired result, and from the start the command showed entire ability to take care of itself in the field. Guard duty was never before so well done, the necessity of it being now obvious to every one. A night alarm at headquarters showed a most gratifying vigilance on the part of officers and men and the readiness of Major Evans, aide-de-camp in charge, to meet such emergency. The various regiments turned out with alacrity and displayed admirable discipline under trying circumstances."

Of the results of the campaign, he relates:

"The campaign is not without valuable results and information. It showed the staff to be intelli-

gent and efficient, an organization of which the State may well be proud, and of which the advantages are incalculable. It proved that the claim so confidently put forth that the division could be concentrated in a few hours in any part of the State was well founded. The rapidity and the strength with which it assembled surpassed expectation. On the eleventh of July the First Brigade showed a percentage of 96.6 for duty; on the twelfth the division had presented 93.8 percentum, and on the nineteenth the highest mark, a proportion of the whole force present and under arms of 95.3 percentum. In the First Regiment every place was filled except one.

"A concentration of so large a body of soldiers from far distant parts, with such full ranks, without previous notice, in so short a time, was never before, I believe, accomplished by any troops. Some of the features of the mobilization, if they might be referred to in a report of this kind, are full of interest and even of pathos. The mustering of the Sheridan Troop, where the farmers left their work, unhitched their horses, mounted them, and galloped to the rendezvous, rivals like scenes of the revolution. The men of two companies of the Fourth Infantry were underground mining coal and slate, and on the call of duty came out of the pits, put off their grime and dust, put on their uniforms and joined the colors. Of another company the Captain was ill in bed. His wife arose in the night, herself harnessed his team with the aid

of a lantern, drove through the town and summoned the men. Privates of the First Troop leaped down from their own coaches which they were driving, throwing the reins to a groom, and hastened to join their fellows. Officers and men hurried from all parts of the country as far away as New Orleans, Boston, Maine, Texas, Montana, and the West, as rapidly as steam could carry them, and some abroad used the cable to show their willingness to come.

"These instances, among others, are worthy of mention, to illustrate the patriotism and sense of duty which prevailed throughout the State, and the military spirit displayed by our National Guard in that which may be justly regarded as a great crisis. The gratifying success of the mobilization, the rapidity with which it was accomplished, and the ease with which the troops were subsisted and supplied on arrival at their destinations, show the soundness of the principles upon which the guard was re-organized and has since been conducted, and the necessity of close adherence in general to them. It would be an act of great risk to venture to depart from the ways now long trodden, which have led to such splendid results."

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Neutralizing agent: Magnesium Oxide
Treatment Date: Dec. 2004

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